

term *race** will be applied with reference to any language really or presumptively unmixed. The Scandinavian race or the Norse race will be intelligible on its own side of the German ocean, but in Britain it becomes an element of a *people*. The latter term will be used where the process of mixture or absorption is known to have been going on. The Cumbrian people, or the English people, will hold good, where race there is none. *Nation* will only be applied in reference to that feeling of nationality which shall be explained in a subsequent chapter. The other terms that may present themselves, being less abused than the above, will be found generally intelligible.

* *Race*, though it presupposes the original unity of mankind, has been of late years used by clap-trap writers, as if there were such a thing as superiority of race so created by nature, and not the result of circumstances. This paradox is as untenable as it is foolish; and so far from being connected with science, flourishes best in the absence of all science.

CHAPTER II.

ANCIENT EUROPE.

IN every system of migrations, the first comers have been the rudest; in other words, civilisation is but a chain, each link of which drags after it another. The perception of this fact has led many to the belief, that perhaps of no country have we any knowledge of the aborigines. On the contrary, it is probable that even the rudest people has left enduring traces, wherever its occupation has been permanent; though these are not always easily discovered, and when found, not easily recognised.

According to the oldest historical accounts, and the observations of modern times, the earliest immigrants of Europe seem to have come in two streams, one along the large rivers and inland seas of the north, the other by the coasts of the Mediterranean. At the present day, we find on the southern stream remnants of three races that cannot be connected with each other, nor with any other known people: the Basques, or descendants of the Iberians, the Etruscans, whose language only exists on monuments, the Albanese or Arnauts, the probable descendants of the Illyrians. The Pelasgian language and people is but a name. In the north of Europe, very widely spread, lay the Tartars, or more correctly the Tatárs. Descendants of these tribes are the Finns of Finland and other districts, the Lapps, the Esthonians, and the Livonians. The Finns, doubtless the most widely spread in central Europe, are described by Tacitus as extremely wild and poor. They lived by their bows, and for want of iron, made arrows with bone points. We have reason to believe that the four races enumerated, were the first inhabitants of Europe.

The imperfect notices of ancient times that have come down to us, are yet sufficient to show that the subsequent migratory tribes of Europe followed in the tracks of those who had gone before. It seems to be the destiny of one people to pioneer and make roads for another. Thus we find the Celts in contact with the Iberians, the Latins with the Etruscans. Whence came the earlier races is a question involved in the deepest mystery—the Tatárs excepted, who most probably migrated from the north of Asia. But not so with the succeeding immigrants who poured into Europe for at least two thousand years, all of whom are clearly traceable to Asia, and belong to the great family of nations known as the Indo-European.

Between the northern slope of the Himalaya and the Caspian Sea, is supposed with much probability to have been the native soil of the Indo-European stock. From that diverging point, like swarms from a hive, went the races (so-called) who colonised Persia, as well as the northern parts of India, and who came westward into Europe in four great divisions: the Celtic, the Greek-Latin, the Gothic, and the Slavic. Probably the Caspian divided them, and from thence some tribes took the northern route, others the southern. At least in the languages collectively are observable two distinct influences; and each of the great divisions is again divisible into two: the first into Hiberno-Celtic and Cambro-Celtic, the second into Greek and Latin, the third into Scandinavian and Germanic, the fourth into Lithuanian and Slavic.

Besides the historical accounts of ancient Europe, another source of important information has of late years been opened up, by a systematic examination of the graves that belong to heathen times. "Sepulchral tumuli are spread over all the western and northern parts of Europe, and over many extensive regions in northern Asia, as far eastward at least as the river Yenisei. They contain the remains of races either long ago extinct, or of such as have so far changed their abodes and manner of living, that the ancestors can no longer be recognised in their descendants."* But only in

* Natural History of Man, by Dr. J. C. Prichard.

Denmark have they been so investigated as to be available for science. According to the latest and best description,* the graves are now classed in three periods or ages, the Stone, the Bronze, and the Iron, and named from the prevailing kind of antiquities found therein. The latest of these periods, the Iron age, does not belong to this part of our subject, but some mention shall be made of it in a subsequent chapter.

During the first or Stone age, the grave was constructed of large stones smoothened carefully *inside*, forming a chamber round which the earth was raised in an artificial hillock. The base of the "hill" was enclosed with a stone circle executed with remarkable industry, and frequently in districts where, at the present day, blocks of stone are not to be found. Sometimes the enclosure was oval, and contained two or three chambers; and even when the graves of this kind had but one chamber, it was placed very near one end.

The "giants' chambers," probably so called from the enormous labour bestowed on their construction, belong evidently to this period. They are found in large artificial hills, and in conspicuous places, and are all provided with long entrances made, like the chambers, of large stones smoothened inside. When the clay or gravel with which they are filled up, is cleared away, a man may stand erect within.

All the graves of this period, when opened for the first time, have been found to contain the bones of one or more *unburnt* corpses, together with arrow-points, lances, knives and axes of flint, bone utensils, ornaments of amber or bone, and vessels of clay filled with loose earth. That these were not urns, and never contained ashes, is evident; they were most probably the receptacles of the viaticum, or food for the last journey. Even in the entrances of the giants' chambers, corpses are found, which favours the view that these were family or clan burial-places.

The graves of the second, or Bronze age, have neither massive enclosures nor chambers, but consist in the rule of small stone chests, covered with a pile of stones, and over that with clay, so

* Dänemarks Vorzeit, von J. Worsaae. German Ed.

as to present to the eye the appearance of a mound of earth. In rare instances, they have small stone enclosures, but invariably contain the remains of *burnt* corpses in clay vessels that resemble urns. Frequently on the summit or side of a mound, is found an urn with burnt bones, whilst the bottom of the hill contains the real burial-place, namely, a giant's chamber with its unburnt corpses and stone utensils. And this is one of numerous proofs that the Bronze age succeeded the Stone age.

During this period, a considerable variety in the manner of burying is observable. The sword and ornaments of the deceased were laid on the ashes of the funeral pile, were covered with a heap of stones, and in the earth raised over this, was placed the urn containing the remains of the body. Instead of the urn a stone chest, about half a yard long, was sometimes constructed. Many of the "hills" contain from thirty to seventy urns, and these were no doubt family burial-places.

The antiquities of the Bronze age do not seem to have been developed out of those of the former period. The transition is sudden, and tells of the coming in of a new people. Instead of the simple, uniform implements of stone, we discover metal weapons, utensils and ornaments, many of the latter being of *gold*, and all elegantly wrought. Amongst the antiquities are found the peculiar kind of axe called the celt, knives very nearly resembling those of the present day, swords, battle-axes, daggers, lance-heads, shields, and the war-trumpet called the *lur*, sometimes in such good preservation that it may be blown; hair-pins, combs, bracelets, and gold cups highly ornamented.

The use of stone did not cease on the introduction of bronze; stone implements are found in the Bronze graves. There are no traces of written characters during the second period, but towards the end the ornaments convey the impression that writing must have been understood. The mixed metal of the Bronze age, it must be observed, contained nine-tenths copper and one-tenth tin, neither of which is to be found in Denmark, nor is there any country from whence they could probably be brought, Britain excepted.

The graves of the Stone age are found in Denmark, principally along the coast, and in particular districts; in one parish, there yet stand above a hundred Stone graves. The graves and giants' chambers of this period are likewise found in the south-west of the present Sweden, namely, in the old Danish countries of Schonen and West Göthland, a few in the east and north, but none in Norway. Almost all north Germany, parts of England and Holland, the west and south of France, Portugal and Spain, contain Stone graves coinciding with those of Denmark; and the contents are everywhere the same.

The peculiar graves of the Bronze age have about the same extent as those of the preceding period in Sweden and Norway; but in other countries they are not so limited. Thus from these investigations we learn, that whilst the first inhabitants of Denmark and northern Europe lay along the coast and subsisted on hunting and fishing, only the people of the second period were enabled by their metal implements to penetrate the country, and construct boats that could be available for extended navigation. It is also evident from the intermixture of the stone and bronze antiquities, that there was no extermination of one race by another, but a gradual absorption, that mysterious process by which peoples disappear, to vulgar eyes "leaving not a wreck behind."

Now arises the question, who were the people of the Stone age? Not the Finns, whose descendants are the present Lapps, says Prof. Worsaae; and not the Celts, for these burned the dead, and extended over districts where no Stone graves are to be found. Thence he concludes that the Stone people are unknown to history. Nevertheless, though this people were not the nomade ancestors of the Finns or Lapps, the probability is that they were a Tatár tribe, perhaps mixed with some of the earliest of the Indo-European stock.

The people of the Bronze age stood on the same grade of culture as the Celts; yet Prof. Worsaae cannot bring himself to suppose that they were anything but the Gothic ancestors of the present Danes. His principal, if not only, reason for this is, that the Bronze age lasted into the eighth century. But this age may have been common to Celts and Goths, as the fact of an equality of culture

makes evident. Moreover, we have seen that a great variety is observable in the graves of the second period. And, as will appear subsequently, Celts from Denmark did arrive in the British Isles.

When the Indo-Europeans entered Europe, they came in contact with Tatár tribes on the north, and with Basques, Etruscans and Illyrians on the south. At the dawn of European history, we find the Celts widely spread through the continent, and especially in possession of all the northern and western coasts. That they should leave unexplored the shores of Denmark, is what we cannot reasonably suppose, seeing that they held possessions in Gaul, Spain, Italy and the Low Countries. In the south we find them in contact with, and a terror to, the Greek-Latin race, in Spain mixing with the ancestors of the Basques, where they were known as the Celtiberians. And as various evidences tend to show, in the north they were mixed with the Tatár people of the Stone age of Denmark. On the east of the Celts pressed the Goths, and behind these, but with the interposition of Tatár and some other peoples, came the Slaves and Lithuanians.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST COLONISATION OF THE BRITISH ISLES.

WHEN Cæsar arrived in Britain, he found it a thickly populated country; and this alone may account for the unsatisfactory information he has transmitted to us concerning the people. He divides the natives into two parts: the inland people, or aborigines, and the inhabitants of the coast, whom he apparently supposes to be all Belgæ. It is quite probable that some of the tribe named did migrate to the opposite shore, but, beyond a doubt, all authentic traditions of this nature had disappeared long before the visit of the Roman general to Britain.

Our British ethnography has remained to the present day in the same rude state in which we received it from Cæsar—the conjectures of Tacitus concerning the Silures and Caledonians notwithstanding. On historical grounds, we believe the first inhabitants of Britain to have been Celtic—using the name in rather a vague sense; and yet limiting our argument even to the monuments of the country, it will be seen that this current view is open to much doubt.

Burial-places and giants' chambers precisely similar to those of the Stone age of Denmark have been found in these islands, if not numerous, at least very widely spread. It must be remembered that we have no systematic account of these antiquities in Britain, and that before any record of them was made, numbers may have been destroyed. The sepulchres of this class are known as "cromlechs;" they are so called in Ireland and Wales, and the name is current in the archæology of England.

The description of a burial-place in Pembrokeshire called *Y Gromlech*, leaves no doubt of its identity with the Stone chambers. It consists of "several rude stones pitched on end in a circular order; and in the midst of the circle, a vast rude stone placed on several pillars. The diameter of the area is about fifty feet. The stone supported in the midst of this circle is eighteen feet long and nine in breadth; and, at one end, it is about three feet thick, but thinner at the other. There lies also by it a piece broken off, which seems more than twenty oxen can draw. It is supported by three large rude pillars about eight feet high; but there are also five others which are of no use at present, as not being high enough to bear any weight of the top stone. Under this stone the ground is neatly flagged, considering the rudeness of monuments of this kind."*

Several monuments of this description are mentioned in the same work. St. Illut's hermitage in Brecknockshire, is constructed of three large stones fixed in the ground, with a fourth for a cover, and forms an "oblong hut," open at one end, about eight feet in length, four in width, and nearly the same in height. This seems to be most generally the present shape and size of such chambers. Arthur's Stone in Glamorganshire belongs to the same class. Cromlechs are found in Anglesey, and in some other counties in Wales, of which two in Denbighshire are improperly called *kist vâen*, or stone chests. And most probably the "Picts' houses" of the Orkneys, described as "overgrown with earth," are sepulchres of the Stone age.

The latest and most reliable work on the ancient burial-places of the British Isles,* unfortunately shows that this department of archæology is yet in its infancy. From the subject as it there stands, no safe conclusions can be drawn. Ireland must, however, have many cromlechs; and a giant's chamber is described as having been discovered at New Grange, near Drogheda. The

* Camden's Britannia.

† Archæological Index, by J. Y. Ackerman, 1847.

“grottoes and covered alleys” of the work referred to, are Stone sepulchres; Wayland Smith’s cave at Ashbury, Berks, and Kit’s Coty House in Kent, belong to the same class.

Are we now to conclude that the people of the Stone age of Denmark found their way hither, and explored the seas and channels of which the Romans showed so much fear, in canoes made by the process of hollowing single logs with fire and flint? Much more probable is it that they only reached these islands in company with the Celts, after having obtained metal weapons, and having learned the construction of some better kind of boat. Moreover, no trace of any language older than Celtic has been found in Britain, the peculiar sepulchres do not appear in one district only, but are thinly scattered through the islands, and modern Irish,—therefore Hiberno-Celtic,—shows a strong phonetic tinge, not belonging to the original stock, which exists to some extent in all the modern Tatár languages. These evidences strongly support the conjecture, that the unknown people were a Tatár tribe, and were mixed with the earlier division of the Celtic immigrants.

It has always been supposed that the earliest inhabitants of Britain were Cambro-Celtic, in other words, that British and Welsh are identical. This erroneous opinion leads deeper into error. The oldest remains of the Celtic languages show clear traces of the distinction now represented by Welsh and Irish. Whatever the Gallic tribe, it was either Cambro-Celtic or Hiberno-Celtic. Why should the former tribes alone find their way into Britain? They were in fact in a minority in Gaul, and still more so in these islands.

The descendants of the first colonists of Ireland, who certainly proceeded direct from the continent, are the people of Connaught. The manners of this district differ widely from those of the rest of the country, and the language preserves the normal state from which the other dialects have developed themselves. This separation soon deprived them of their share in the collective nationality of the island. The river that bounded their district, the Shannon (Senus), was therefore named by their successors on the east, and

furnishes us with the name of the people on the west—the Senones. Thus we have in Connaught a portion of the tribe that lived about the Sequana in Gaul, and at a later period invaded Italy under Brennus (a mountain torrent), and attacked Rome at the time when the capitol was only saved from surprise by the cackling of the sacred geese.

Comparing the language of the *west* of Ireland with the oldest names belonging to the ancient history of the *east* of Britain, we find that the first inhabitants of both islands were the same people. And in fact all the seafaring tribes of the west and north of Europe, for a considerable period, were Hiberno-Celts. The five great headlands of Britain, on which are situated the modern counties of Kent, Lincolnshire, Haddingtonshire, Aberdeenshire, and Caithness, were originally called Kent, the head (modern Irish *cean*), as appears from the names of the tribes, the Cantii, Icenii, and Cantæ, and from Cambridge (Cantabriga), Canty bay and Pentland hills in Haddingtonshire, and Pentland frith, the two latter of which are transformations from *Kentland* hills, *Kentland* frith. The same name was introduced into the west of Scotland by some of the latest immigrants, and is found in Cantyre (*cean tir*), the head of the land.

At a very early period the word kent (pr. *kant*) was changed into *pen* by the Cambro-Celts; but was applied by them to hills, and never to promontories. Pembroke was previously Kentbroke; and in the transformation of such names, we have evidence of the later arrival of the Cambro-Celts. The tradition still exists in Wales, especially in the north, that the original inhabitants were Gwythelians (Irish); and many of the unaccountable antiquities (chambers, etc.) are popularly ascribed to them as *Cytian y Gwyzelod*, Irish cots. The foxes and polecats, it is said, were their domestic dogs and cats.* These traditions seem to have migrated northwards from South Wales. On the other hand, the Cambro-Celtic term for capes was *corn*, a horn, as in Cornwall.

Amongst the latest of the Hiberno-Celtic colonists, prior to the

* Owen's Welsh Dictionary.

Roman conquest, were the Brigantes and Silures. The historical names connected with all the tribes of this division are reducible to modern Irish, and show themselves to be titles. The heroic and ill-used queen of the Iceni, whose name has occasioned so many orthographical conjectures—the nearest the mark being Bounducea—thus becomes *bean duci*, the woman leader. Our unfortunate acquaintance, Vortigern, turns into *fear tigherna* (*vir tyrannus*), the ruling man; and his son, Vortimer, no doubt was *fear timthire*, his minister or lieutenant.

The Cambro-Celts landed on the south and west of Britain, and wherever else they are found, they probably penetrated from thence. All North Wales was colonised by this division, as well as a part of Scotland, where they were known as the Picts. The latter tribe may have given the name to the Isle of Wight (*Vectis*), the original form being perhaps *Quict*; but at least the word is not the Latin *pictus*, as the Romans invariably adopted the foreign name, and never gave one of their own.

Celtic modes of burial are divided, by the author of the *Archæological Index*, into Cremation, Interment at full length, and Deposit in a cist bent. Barrows of the first kind contain no vestiges of pottery, in the second are found urns and implements of flint and stone, and in the third metal weapons and ornaments. There is no reliance to be placed on this classification. The second mode of interment seems to belong to the Stone age, the urn being intended to contain the food for the deceased; and the third is perhaps that of a later time and of a mixed people. Cremation is the proper Celtic mode of burial, and so continued down to the conversion to Christianity.

Several cairns or "barrows" are mentioned in Camden as existing in Wales, from one of which were taken five urns containing bones and ashes. Scott thus describes the cairns which, he says, crown the summits of most of the Scottish hills: "Six flat stones are commonly found in the centre, forming a cavity in which an urn is often placed. The author is possessed of one, discovered beneath an immense cairn at Roughlee, in Liddesdale. It is of the most barbarous construction; the middle of the substance alone having

been subjected to the fire, over which, when hardened, the artist had laid an inner and outer coat of unbaked clay, etched with some very rude ornaments. The contents were bones and ashes, and a quantity of beads made of coal.”*

In the construction of the Dorsetshire cairns, the cist has been excavated in the chalk, covered with broken flints, then with unbroken flints, with successive layers of brown and black mould, and lastly with a layer of large flints two feet and a half thick. The antiquities found in the Celtic tumuli are urns, stone and bronze celts, daggers, swords and spear-heads, ornaments and coins.† These details sufficiently identify the Celts of Britain with the people of the Bronze age of Denmark.

Three distinct peoples have hitherto been traced in Britain; but even prior to the Roman conquest, for linguistic reasons, a fourth must be assumed. It is not a modern opinion that Iberians were amongst the colonists of the British Isles. Tacitus believed that the Silures were of that race, concluding from their dark colour, crisped hair, and the appearance of the country. The evidence here offered, only proposes to show that Celtiberians arrived in these islands, but especially in Britain.

The name of the Icenî is not to be explained from Celtic, the original word being Cent; but in Iberian (Basque) the *i* is a frequent prefix, and in foreign names causes no change of meaning. The Bibroci (whence Berkshire) is most probably the Spanish Bebryces—containing the Iberian *bi*, two—and in Britain seems to have meant “the people of the countries,”—a district divided by the Thames. Many names and corruptions might be adduced, corresponding in etymology and phonetic structure with Iberian; as the Mendip hills, the Grampian hills, which are probably derivations from the Basque *mendia*, a hill, *gara*, a height. Hibernia, the west country, is identical with Iberia; and it is impossible to say which language has been the borrower. The Silures and the Brigantes were probably mixed people, or Celtiberians.

* Lay of the Last Minstrel, Notes.

† Archæological Index.

Such were the early colonists of Britain; it remains to enquire where did the first tribes migrate from? when and why did they come?

In ancient Irish history, some mention is made of a people called the Tuadha de Danan, the Tuads of the Dan country (Denmark)—a celebrated tribe of enchanter. Their existence has been doubted, yet some of the same people colonised a part of Scotland, and left their name to the river Tweed. The position on the coast of Britain, and the name in Irish history, identify them as emigrants from Denmark, in fact, as the Teutones who were said to inhabit the southern part of Jutland. They may have been slightly mixed with the Scandinavians, who were then probably entering the peninsula; but there is nothing in the Roman accounts of the Teutones to show that they were not Celtic. Nevertheless, as it was from this tribe that the Germans derived the name Teutonic, its identification with the Tuads will be disputed; whilst it is hardly credible that a numerous German people could have reached Ireland at so early a period.*

The Tuadha de Danan could only arrive at the Tweed from the south of Denmark, wafted by a southwest wind. On the same course, the people who inhabited the north of the peninsula, about Liim Fiord, would reach the headland containing the modern Aberdeenshire; and this would account for the original name of Britain, and the present name of Scotland in the Irish language,—Albion and Alba, the hill country. Undoubtedly, the name Albion proceeded from the north of the island, and the people who conferred it, belonged to the original settlers.

It is difficult to fix anything near the time at which the first immigration took place. For geognostic reasons, says Worsaae, we may conclude that the Bronze age commenced in Denmark five or six hundred years before the Christian era. About the former of these periods seems to have been the time of the first migration

* Tued and Teut are phonetically identical. The latter represents the pronunciation *toyt*, and in Dutch is spelled *tuit*. The Welsh *Llwyd* has the same diphthongal combination as Tued, and its anglicised form *Lloyd* furnishes the modern pronunciation of Teut.

to Albion. The Celts must have been spread about the coast of Denmark, before they could possibly undertake any expedition by sea. In the third century before our era, Italy was invaded by the Senones,—good evidence that the emigration across the channel had ceased at the time; as the removal to a new country would have been preferable to any warlike expedition by land. In fine, not less than five centuries A.C. would give time for the extensive colonisation discovered by Cæsar, and the change of name from Albion to Britain.

The unaccountable movements of the Senones, Teutones, and other tribes, as related by the ancient authors, seem to have been an ordinary feature of the time. Mere love of plunder could not have produced the desperate conflicts described by the Latin historians. The only reason ever given by the people themselves—one which occasioned a bad pun from Marius, the Roman general—was that they were seeking land to settle on; and Florus mentions the report, that the countries abandoned by those people had been inundated by the sea. Judging from modern experience, the marshy tracts of the continent must have been once subject to periodical pestilences sufficiently fatal to drive out the surviving inhabitants *en masse*. And it is probable that all the migrating tribes of those comparatively late times, had been colonists of such districts.

Our summary of conclusions from what has been said, will be found tolerably free from error, according to the present state of the science. The first inhabitants of Britain were Hiberno-Celts, of whom certain tribes were mixed with the Tatárs of the Stone sepulchres and giants' chambers. The first settlers proceeded from the north of Denmark, about five centuries before the Christian era, being driven out by the unhealthiness of the country, and landed in the mountainous part of the island, whence the name Alba travelled southwards with the people.

Whatever may have been the amount of Tatár and Iberian mixture, all distinctions finally merged into that of the two Celtic divisions. Hiberno-Celtic and Cambro-Celtic names for the same object are found in Cumberland; and wherever the national spirit

remained unbroken by subsequent invasions, this antagonism may be traced. In South Wales I have been told by a native, who certainly had no theory whatever on the subject, that "he *could* fraternise with an Irishman, but not with a North Welshman." The same sort of inherited dislike to the inhabitants of Connaught, exists in the other provinces of Ireland, the natives of Athlone, who are separated only by the river, having the strongest feeling on this point. Antipathies of this nature are not the growth of modern times, but commenced with the first crossing of swords between the opposing tribes. Nor is the feeling so strongly reciprocated on the weaker side. And it is on this is founded, if I mistake not, the remarkable proverb, "Whom we injure we can never endure!"

CHAPTER IV.

THE CELTIC COLONISATIONS OF CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND.

THE district of country that contains the modern counties of Cumberland and Westmorland (which in the ensuing pages will be included under the general name of Cumbria), is enclosed on two sides, the east by the Pennine, the west by the sea. Rugged and unattractive, the most inhospitable portion of primæval England, we can scarcely imagine it to have been peopled, except by the overflowing of the more favoured districts. Such an inference is, however, not borne out by history. All historical evidences tend to show that Cumbria, at its first occupation by the Romans, was as thickly populated as any part of Britain, in proportion to its power of furnishing the means of support. And there is scarcely a doubt, that man in his earliest migrations, as in his latest, was in search not only of food, but of health and independence.

As a consequence of the peculiar local condition of these counties, we are enabled to judge with some certainty, from the ancient names, of the direction in which the immigrants were proceeding. It has been stated that Albion was explored southwards, a conclusion that is strengthened considerably by Cumbrian evidence. The oldest settlement of this district shows clearly, even in its present state, that the colonists came in from the north. It extends southwards along the slope of the Pennine, from Castle Carrock (including Croglin and Cumrew) to Culgaith, the end of the garden, where it was stopped by the nature of the ground. The people of this ancient settlement—the date of which cannot be assumed at less than four centuries before our era—were

Hiberno-Celts, and doubtless by them was erected the finest monument of the north, the Druidical circle popularly known as Long Meg and her Daughters. In the same neighbourhood we find Great Dun Fell, Crowdundle and Knock Pike, which belong to this people, if not to so early a period.

Around the coast appear traces of another colony, the people of which drew the main part of their subsistence from fishing. The statement of Dio Cassius, that the Celts of Britain would eat no fish, may, with many others, be declared wholly false, or founded on something of very limited application. Judging from present appearances, the centre of the coast settlement was at the northern Morecambe, a name that originally could only be applied to the Solway with all its inlets. Dundraw, Cultram, the Esk, with many other names in the same neighbourhood, proceed from this people. About the southern Morecambe, the Kent, and the coast, probably as far as Ravenglass, an immigration may be traced northwards, which at the last-mentioned place would probably come in contact with the other colonists of the coast.

We have several traces of central settlements, a principal one being in the neighbourhood of the Keswick Circle, and from thence to Ullswater, Glencoin, Glenridding, and Dunmaile. The centre of another very important settlement was at Blencowe, around which names may be traced to a considerable distance. The name Ray, variously spelled Wreay, Rea, and Wray, is indicative of the first colonisation.

These first settlers, the pioneers of British civilisation, were partly a pastoral people, and partly subsisted on hunting and fishing. In them we see a tendency to avoid the vallies, and, for permanent residences, to seek the highest ground, suited to their occupations. The reasons are obvious; the vallies were impenetrable thickets, and pestilential marshes,—the high grounds were healthier, and less obstructed by forest. Those traces of the plough that have been observed on hills and commons uncultivated even at the present day, belong to this early period, and show that agriculture had made progress on the lands of the first colonists. But the phenomenon has remained a puzzle to the latest times, and

on it has been founded the popular story, that it was laid as a penance on King John's subjects during the interdict, to till no enclosed fields, or lands ordinarily cultivated, for the space of a year and a day.

The Cambro-Celtic colonists, having migrated altogether from the north and west coasts of Gaul, landed on the south and south-west of Britain. Just as we trace the Hiberno-Celts on the east coast, so do we find the Cambro-Celts on the west. In Cornwall, North Wales, and Lancashire, they were the explorers of the seashore, Liverpool and Lancaster being of their foundation.

Thus the second Celtic colonists entered Cumbria on the south. Yet they have not left many names in Westmorland, and this favours the opinion that they were proceeding in a great measure by the coast, and in their first movements seeking for districts uncolonised by any earlier people. The Lowther, the Leven, and the first part of Nan Bield, received their names from this people; and Corney, now the name of a river, is derived from the original appellative of the peninsula west of the Duddon, namely, *corn*, the horn.

In the central districts of Cumbria, we find certain evidences of conflict with the earlier occupants. The Hiberno-Celts being established at Blencowe, the Cambro-Celts fixed themselves at Penrith. Barco in this quarter appears to have been the battle-field for the contending parties. Nevertheless both held their ground, for, in the neighbourhood of the Peterill, they were separated only by the river. About the foot of Ullswater, which they called the Pool, and thence to Penruddock, little Penrith, ample traces of the Cambro-Celts are likewise found. Helvellyn was named by them, and certain places on the right shore of the lake. Their attempts to pass up the left bank, appear to have been checked at Glencoin, the glen of tribute, the place being of course named by the victorious party.

Farther north, and in contact with the settlers on the "fellsides," we can trace the Cambro-Celts in Cumwhitton, Cumwhinton, and in the name which they gave their neighbours, the Cumrew, or people of the hills, now preserved in the name of a village. Still lower do we find them, at Lanercost, though this may be a much

later settlement, as it is unquestionably a later name, and at Torpenhow, as appears from the second syllable; and again in the centre at Derwent and Lowdore.

The arrival of the Cambro-Celts in the North, can hardly be estimated at a less interval than two centuries subsequent to the coming of the Hiberno-Celts. This conclusion is arrived at from the fact that the whole of northern Europe was, at one time, in possession of the latter people, who must have given way in various places, and whose emigrations must, to some extent, have ceased, before those of the latter began. The intercourse carried on between both peoples in Cumbria, was of an imperfect kind, unless aided by interpreters.

It is highly probable that the earlier colonists exclusively brought with them the people of the Stone age, and that to a considerable extent the Celtiberians were a mixture of the later or Cambro-Celtic people. But there have already been mentioned two mixed tribes, or confederacies, the Brigantes and Silures,—and another important tribe remains,—who did not belong to the second division of the Celts. Of the presence of the Stone people, our imperfect linguistic remains afford no traces; but we have yet to ascertain, in the proper place, what evidence of their colonisation of Cumbria may be found in the monuments and burial places of the district. Concerning the Celtiberian mixture, however, various words present themselves that cannot be reconciled to any pure Celtic dialect, or to any language of the Indo-European stock.

Among the invading tribes of ancient Irish history, none is more easily recognised by continental names, than the Fir Bolg, the men of Belgium. Some time before the complete conquest of Britain, a part of this tribe left the continent, and sailing down the channel, threw out colonies right and left as they proceeded. We can trace them by a peculiar use of the word *caer* (*car*), that is *cathair*, the city, which they prefixed to the older names of places conquered by them,—names that they frequently did not understand. The first of this class is found in *Caer Odor* (the ancient Bristol), then follow *Caerleon* and *Caerwent* in Monmouthshire, *Caermarthen* and *Cardigan* in Wales, *Carlow* in Ireland, *Carnarvon*

in Wales, Carlingford in Ireland, Cardurnock and Carlisle in Cumberland, and Caervorran on the Wall in Northumberland. That this tribe reached Cumbria is almost certain from the *Blatum Bulgium* of Antoninus's Itinerary, which is correctly placed in this part of Britain, and signifies the Belgian conquest.

Carlisle, the name in which we are principally interested, is evidently the composition of a later people, whose arrival was subsequent to that of the Romans, but, as appears from *Blatum Bulgium*, during the Roman occupation. The word *caer* was quite intelligible to all the Celtic tribes, every city in Ireland might have had it placed before its name; but the simple fact is, the Irish people *did not use it as a prefix to the names of places*. The visits of those Belgæ were not favourably regarded by their neighbours, for Belgian in the Welsh language became a synonyme for a ravager, as Gaul in Irish for a stranger, until put out of the field by Saxon. It can hardly be said with certainty, to which division of the Celts these colonists belonged; but more probably they were Hiberno-Celtic, and, being few in number, would have little influence on the language of either country.

The Roman occupation of Britain furnishes us with important information on the population of Cumbria. The conquest of the Brigantes, A.D. 121, gave the signal for the fall of the whole northern district, and Cumbria was not long saved from invasion by its mountains. We may assume that this district was overrun by the Roman legions at some time in the second century. The population that they found here was even then considerable, but it no doubt increased vastly during two and a half centuries of steady government.

The forts and camps erected by the Romans afford, by their position, the most important evidence. As the centre of a colony could rarely have been a proper site, wherever we find a principal station, we may look for a native population in the neighbourhood. Many of the camps were, however, intended merely to facilitate the removal of troops; and the seven forts on the wall, being designed for external defence, afford only indirect evidence on the internal state of the country.

Principal stations have been discovered at Bewcastle, "Old Carlisle," Ellenborough near Maryport, Moresby near Whitehaven, "Old Perith," Caermot near Ireby, and Stocklewath near Rose Castle, in Cumberland; and at Brough, and Ambleside in Westmorland. Traces of smaller forts are discoverable near Milburn, Kirkby Thore, and Yanwath (at the present day known as Green Castle, Whelp Castle, and Castle Steads); and at Orton, and Watercrock in Westmorland. The names of places furnish us with three: Hincaster, Muncaster, and Casterton. These forts and camps were all connected by roads, though but few traces thereof now remain, that called the Maiden Way excepted, which passed through the east of Cumberland. From Brough a main road led west through Kirkby Thore, and north through "Old Perith," opening up the great forest to Luguwallum and the Wall. In the south we recognise it in Veroda, the red way, which was apparently transferred to a fort, and farther north in Wadlyng, from which came the name of the well-known "tarn," now no more. Traces of a main road have likewise been discovered, leading from Ambleside in the direction of Penrith, which in later times was called the High Street, whence the name of one of the highest hills in Westmorland.

The information of the Itineraries of Antoninus, and the Notitia Imperii unfortunately affords little certainty as to the positions of the forts, and establishes but one point, the exclusive use of native names. The possibility of now discovering the dialects in these words, shows a scrupulous care in writing that differs much from the general treatment of barbarous names by the Latin writers at home. It likewise testifies to the good understanding that had long subsisted between the conquered Cumbrians and their rulers. Whatever frivolous origin the name may have had, it was adopted by the Romans; thus we find that one of the forts was called Olenacum, that is, "having elbows or corners." As for the rest, the conjectures of antiquaries concerning the sites are hardly worth repeating. Tunnocellum may have been at Bowness, Axelodunum at Brough; Aballaba and Amboglanna are probably still to be traced in Appleby and Ambleside; but that is all that

can be said. Whilst such imaginary namings as Old Penrith and Old Carlisle, are of no value whatever.

It cannot be supposed that the conquest of these counties was effected entirely without opposition. Two "cities," such as those described by Cæsar, are traceable in the names of Blencogo and Blencowe, taken in conjunction with the nature of the ground; and if any stand were made, it was especially in these places. These cities were not intended for permanent residences, the habits of the Celts being opposed to such localities. Resistance, however, was in vain; the Cumbrians were compelled to make the roads and build the forts that completed their subjugation. Like all the other conquered tribes, they became either the lever or the fulcrum for overthrowing the liberty of some people as unfortunate as themselves.

But the Romans found the Caledonians, including the Picts and Scots, an enemy differing very widely from the other tribes of Britain, of which we have substantial evidence in the wall built for no other purpose than to keep them out. We cannot judge of the nature of the opposition encountered by the Romans in this island from the native writers. Cæsar, who could not acknowledge his defeat at Gergovia, or the streights to which he was driven in Britain, Domitian, who purchased slaves to make a triumph, were not the men to publish reverses that could be concealed. The difficulties of Britain, it is evident, either prevented the invasion of Ireland, or, if a celebrated Irish tradition* be founded on fact, the attempt was made, and was foiled. Dangers were indeed sometimes exaggerated for obvious purposes, but defeats were as patriotically hushed up in the city of the Cæsars, as to day in the city of the Czars.

The Roman occupation of Britain lasted either too long or too short for the welfare of the country—long enough to enervate by tutelage the unfortunate natives, to show the country to the

* The Battle of Ventry Harbour, the invasion of Ireland in the *fourth* century by the *king of the world*, on which an Iliad of wonders was raised by the romance writers of the middle ages. The story still exists independently in local tradition.

Gothic tribes, literally to pave the way for the invading hordes that followed,—too short to protect them when the dangers became imminent. Whatever we may think of the romance of the pious Gildas, it is certain that the northern neighbours were not less troublesome for the withdrawal of the foreign garrisons. The Cumbrians could hardly repel the assaults of an enemy that was not to be vanquished by Roman arms. About this time, some permanent settlements appear to have been made in this district by the Scots,—the well-known Scots of school histories, who, having united their forces with the Picts, “began to look upon Britain as their own.” Three names at least can be referred with certainty to this tribe, Skiddaw, the Scots’ mountain, Bailey, and Ballydoyle. On the other hand, the Picts appear to have confined their ravages altogether to the other side of the Pennine, as we have no evidence that they ever entered Cumberland.

The origin of the Scots is involved in some obscurity, but various traditions confirm a belief that they came into Ireland from Spain. They landed in the south and south-east, and, some time during the Roman occupation of Britain, passed over from the north into Caledonia. Thus they traversed the entire island, Connaught apparently excepted, and made so deep an impression on their new country, as to give to it the name that it bore for some centuries, namely, Scotia. In short they were to Ireland what the Angles, at a later period, were to England. Their invasion of Caledonia finally transferred the name to that country. It is very probable they were Celtiberians, as their migration from Spain would lead us to suppose; and it is certain that the Scottish Highlanders and the Basques strikingly correspond in many important characteristics.

CHAPTER V.

CELTIC NAMES OF PLACES AND PEOPLES.

FOUR different Celtic colonisations of Cumbria have left names to the etymologist, besides a certain number of exceptional words, which it is proposed to refer to Iberian. In the explanation of all the former names, nevertheless, the main distinction to be observed, is that of Hibernian and Cambrian, and for such a separation very great facility exists in the distinct and marked characters of both languages.

During the European transit of the Celts, the Cambrian division fell under an influence that altered the initial *c* of a number of words into *p*: Irish *cean*, Welsh *pen*. The Greek dialects have suffered under a similar mixture or influence.* Again, the main character of Welsh utterance is that of a violent separation of syllables, not unlike the well-known peculiarity of Italian, a striking contrast with the extreme fluency and connectedness of Irish. Both these influences are southern, and proceed from the earlier inhabitants of the two peninsulas; Irish has escaped them.

Every consonant in standard Irish is capable of two pronunciations, a broad and a narrow; the western dialect still preserves the distinction clearly audible. The vowels are divided into broad and narrow, *a*, *o*, *u* being of the former kind, *e*, *i* the latter. If there be no other overruling cause, the consonant takes its sound from the following vowel; and, according to a practice now ancient, the kind of the medial or final consonant is indicated, if necessary,

* Ionic *kē*, Attic *pē*, Doric *pa*: Latin *qua*. The Latin *qu* is the *eq.* in most cases to these varying sounds.

by a preceding vowel. Thus the *a* vowel in *cean* only shows the broad sound of the *n*. Some of the Celtic dialects and many of the European languages that received this influence did not preserve its original condition; its existence is now therefore best traced in its effects, which form many of the most striking changes of modern dialects. Traces of this organic peculiarity are strong and general in Russian, partial in Danish and Latin, scarcely to be found in Welsh, and non-existent in German. Its effects are sufficiently ample in the Romance languages, in Anglo-Saxon orthography, and in the pronunciation of modern English. That this influence belongs to the north is tolerably evident; and seeing that it is almost perfect in Magyar, and more or less traceable in all the languages of the same stock, we may conclude that it has come to us through the Tatár peoples.

Welsh and Irish have in common a number of initial changes which are still inexplicable to the philologist; but as some of these are euphonic, they cannot be considered foreign to the stock. But, besides these, the Celtic languages have undergone a system of aspiration that, in process of time, has quite altered the sound of the word. Fortunately, in Irish the process is still living, and in a majority of cases the old orthography has been preserved. The limited number of words explained in this chapter, is sufficient to show that the system of aspiration had commenced before the Roman occupation; in some instances the aspirated letter has disappeared, in others it is retained. Aspiration is marked in English characters with the letter *h*. These peculiarities, indeed, increase the difficulties of Celtic etymology, but they enable the student to identify his words almost with certainty.

Nothing in language has led to more unfounded assumptions and theories than the disappearance of Celtic names in Europe. When the succeeding races pressed in among the Celts, the names belonging to the latter were not thickly sown, as is visible in the map of Ireland, where the words that fill up the picture, whether English or Irish, all proceed from a late period. The original Celtic names were given to whole tracts of country, rivers, peoples, promontories and cities.

Pseudo-etymology, a general term for most of the processes by which older names of places disappear, has existed since languages began to mix, and still flourishes in perennial vigour. Some farther mention of its strange conceits will be found in subsequent chapters, at present we are limited to the supplanting of Celtic names. The first and most general process, is that of mistaking the word; Catterlen might have been written Catter Lane,* as it is pronounced, and if any person of the name of Catter could be found in Norway or Iceland, in real life or in fable, its Celtic existence even now would come to an end. To this class belongs the silly mistake of supposing the British balefires to have been the "fires of Baal," which has solely arisen from the name having become so familiar through the Bible. Secondly, there is a vanity in language that wishes to explain every thing and make it intelligible. The Itawa of the Cherokees was converted by the Europeans into High Tower; and our own Blencathra was changed into Blenk Arthur, it being "best explained" in this form. And lastly, as a consequence of the closeness of the Indo-European languages to each other, any person who has learned any one of them is in danger of finding etymologies for the scattered words of all the others. This kind of monomania was once confined to the classic languages, but has now found its way into Anglo-Saxon, and Danish, whilst in Norse it threatens to become quite an epidemic. It was by the unfortunate class of persons alluded to that Picti was declared to mean the "painted people;" and why did they think so?—they understood Latin, but not Celtic. Derby, the town on the river, was explained by Worsaae as the "town of animals (deer)"—such an enchanted place as we read of in Eastern tales. The Cumbrian words that have been so treated, would include almost all the Celtic in the two counties.

But even when the words are acknowledged to be Celtic, they have a danger to encounter. Persons—etymologists, as they call themselves—barbarously ignorant of the *fate* of the Celtic languages, of Celtic history, grammar, changes and aspirations, of

* Cf. Lane End, Staffordshire. What plainer name could be desired!—but that half the villages of England are similarly situated.

everything that can aid in discriminating, confidently find explanations of Celtic difficulties. And every author of a guide-book—blind guides!—thinks himself at liberty to frighten tourists with the origin of Celtic names.

The oldest words corresponding to the modern “town,” evidently indicate the state of the plains, when the first immigrants were entering Europe. They are all derivatives or transfers from the names of hills. This choice of a site had perhaps a double object; the rising ground was healthier than the valley, but it also afforded protection. The Sans. *nagara*, a city, is from *naga*, a hill. The Lat. *pagus*, a village, is the Gr. *pagos*, a hill. The Nor. *thorp*, a village, is from the C. *tor*, a hill. The Ger. *burg*, a castle, is from *berg*, a hill; whence the English “borough.” The Rus. *gorad* (*grad*), a city, is from *gara*, a hill, as Nówgarad, the new city, Biograd, the white city, and the Ger. Stuttgart. The C. *dun*, a fort, a fortified house, is *dun*, a hill, the Angle *ton*, whence the English “town.” The two last words, after making their way into the German languages, retained only a part of their meanings in some of the dialects. *Gorad* became the D. *gaard* (pr. gōrd), a country house, the Cumbrian *garth*, an enclosed field, the Eng. “yard,” the N. *gardhr*, a hedge. *Dun* became the A.S. *tun*, an estate of any extent, the Dutch *tuin*, a garden, the Ger. *zaun*, a hedge. Perhaps there is no language that has not one such word from the same origin.

As for the hybrid words explained in the glossaries of this work, there can be nothing more certain than that languages coming in contact do mix and borrow from each other. Especially, all words used as terminations (by, ton, etc.), are freely added to the existing names of the country. If I err in finding two different languages in the same word, I need only say, it is in company with W. von Humboldt, the polar star of modern philology.

ABALLABA (presumptively C. I., but its Basque derivation would be too indefinite) is probably the origin of Apple-by. Antoninus’s Itinerary.

ALBION (C. *alb*, a hill) the hill country. Frequent in old Italian names of places, Alba Longa, the long hill, etc. Cf. Albanus, the

old name of the Caucasus country, and the Spanish Albocella (C. C. *uchel*), the high hill. This derivation throws light on the myth of Albion and Bergion (Ger. *berg*, a hill), sons of Neptune, who were killed by Hercules. Ptolemy's *Alouion*, eq. *Alvion*, explains the name of the Helvii, and Helvetii of Switzerland. In *Alp*, eq. *Alpt*, we have probably the Lat. *lapidis* (*lapis*, a stone), and the name of Lapithæ, who may have come down from the Balkan.

AMBOGLANNA (H. C. *amuich gleanna*), the place at the outlet of the glen. Now Amble-side. Ant. It.

AXELODUNUM, H. C. *uisgeamhuil dun*, the marsh fort, on the wall. Several of this name in Britain and Gaul. Ant. It.

BAILEY, H. C. *baile*, the town. Scottish, and frequent in late Irish names of places. Ballydoyle, Doyle's town.

BARCO, H. C. *bar*, the hill, *catha*, of the fight, near Penrith.

BLATUM BULGIUM (C. C. *bledd*, ravage, spoil, *ble*, a plain), the Belgian conquest. Ant. It.

BLENCAIRN, H. C. *blein*, a tongue of land enclosed by the sea, or by rivers, *cairn*, of the burial-place.

BLENCOGO, H. C. *blein cogach*, the place for war, the stronghold. Blencowe, an apocopated form.

BRIGANTES (Lat. pl. of *briga*, a tribe; Sans. *varga*, a multitude), the clans, the confederates.

BRITAIN (H. C. *breath*, judgment), the country governed by judges, a name given by the Gauls. Cæsar says: "The system of Druidism is thought to have been formed in Britain, and from thence carried over into Gaul; and now those who wish to be more accurately versed in it, for the most part go thither (to Britain), in order to become acquainted with it." The name in full was *Inis breithemh*, the island of the judges, the oldest Cambricised form of which is *Inis pryddain*, as appears in the Welsh triads. *Breathnach* in the Irish language means Welshman, and *breithemh*, a judge, is pronounced *brehon*. The Vergobret of the Aeduans is explained correctly *fear go breath*, the man for judgment.

BROUGH, H. C. *brugh*, a fortification, on the wall, and another in Westmorland (pr. *bruff*). We have another pronunciation of

this word, *broo* (in Brougham), from the same origin. The Ger. *burg* only accounts for *borough* (in Borrowbridge, etc.) The Brovonacæ and Brovacum of Ant. It.

CALEDONIA (C. *Gaill y dun*, the Gauls of the hills), a Lat. derivative for the name of the country. Cf. Donegal, the fort of the Gaul or stranger.

CARLISLE, original name Luguvalium (H. C. *log*, the pool, *balla*, at the wall), was first applied to the confluence of the rivers. The aspiration of the two inner consonants reduced the name to *Luil*, and the Belgæ meantime prefixed *cathir*, from which, by the same ekthipsis, arose the present orthography. Accent on the second syllable. Cf. Lugdunum, the ancient name of Lyons and Leyden, the pool fort.

CATTERLEN, H. C. *ceathair*, the quadrangle, *leana*, of the marsh (river-side ground), the Roman fort at Plumpton, now the name of a township. Cf. Lane End, Staffordshire, the marsh end; within a short distance is the village of Fen-ton.

CELT (H. C. *ceil*, to cover), clothed. Transferred to the "kilt" of the Highlands, and to the Cumbrian homespun garment, well known as the "kelt coat."

COOMBS, C. C. *cwmp*, a circle, a remarkable piece of unproductive, stony ground in Martindale.

CORNEY (C. C. *corn*, a horn), with the ending *ey*, has become the name of a river, originally the peninsula. Cf. Corn-wall.

CROGLIN, H. C. *carraig*, the rock, *linne*, of the water.

CROWDUNDE (H. C. *corrach*, a marsh, *dun*, the fort), Crow-dun-dale, the Crowdun being probably the fort at Milburn. Cf. the Curragh in Ireland, and in the Isle of Man; and Crewe in Cheshire, that is, the marsh.

CULGAITH (pr. *coolgaath*), H. C. *cul*, the back, *guirt*, of the garden, the end of the open country, eq. the French *cul-de-sac*. The *i* is most probably the sign of the genitive, retained even when the *r* was lost.

CULTRAM (pr. *caltram*), H. C. *cealltrach*, a church,—the abbey lands. Cf. Caltram in the south of Ireland.

CUMBERLAND (H. C. *cumar*, a confluence, or valley; *cumarach*,

abounding in hills and vallies), the hill country. The Cummeragh mountains are the highest and wildest in Ireland.

CUMREW, C. C. *cymru*, the people, or settlement, of the hills, a village on the "fell-sides." The Welsh are so named for the same reason; and Cimbri and Cimmerioi appear to have a similar origin.

DERWENT, C. C. *dwr*, water, *gwent*, beautiful.

DUNDRAW, H. C. *dun*, the hill, *darach*, of the oak. Cf. Dunderrow in the south of Ireland.

DUNMAILE, H. C. *dun maoile*, the hill of the heap, or sepulchral mound.

DUNMALLET (pr. *Dunmawland*), H. C. *dun maolain*, the hill of the beacon.

DURDAR, C. C. *dwr dar*, the water at the oak, the original name of the Caldew.

EDEN, anciently Ituna, a Celtiberian name; its modern form has been conjectured into everything by etymologists.

ESK, H. C. *uisge*, water. Cf. the Exe and the Axe.

GLENCOIN, H. C. *glean*, the valley, *caine*, of tribute.

GLENDERRATERRA, H. C. *glean darach*, the glen of the oak. Cf. Dunderrow. Terra appears to be a Roman addition, pure Celtic names never being formed of this kind. Some "guide-book" writer has *explained* this name into the "valley of the angel of execution." Cf. the ancient Avalterræ.

GLENRIDDING, C. C. *glyn*, the valley, *rhyd*, of the ford.

HARTLOW, H. C. *aird*, the country, *locha*, of the lake, the northern Morecambe. Cf. Carlow.

HIBERNIA (H. C. *ibher*, the west), the west country. Cf. Ive-
ragh, in the southwest of Ireland, and Iberia. The name was
etymologised by the Romans into the "wintry land," and then
declared to be too cold to be inhabited (Strabo).

KENT, H. C. *cent*, the promontory, transferred to the river.

KILRIDDING (H. C. *cill*, the church), the church at the ford.
Cf. Kilmarnock, Killarney, etc.; and the Russian *celó*, a church
village.

KNOCK, H. C. *cnoc*, a hill, in Knock Pike, etc.

LANERCOST (C. C. *llan*, a church), the church land, with pro-

bably the D. east, *o* to distinguish it from Cultram. Cf. Lanark in Scotland. *Llan* and *llanerch* originally signified a glade of the forrest.

LEVEN, C. C. *llefn*, smooth. Cf. Lochleven. The Eng. level.

LINE, LUNE, C. C. *llyn*, water.

MAN, Iberian *men*, *maen*, a hill (of which the perfect form is *mendia*), transferred, in most instances, to the stone erection on the summit. Old Man could only arise when the word was supposed to be Eng. Cf. Mendip hills.

MORECAMBE, H. C. *mor*, great, *cam*, bend, the great bay. *Mor* is one of a few adjectives prefixed in compounds. *Cam* is the Eng. cove, dim *camog*, Eng. caminock, etc.

NAN, C. C. *nant*, a glen, in Nan Bield (building), and Nent Head.

PENRITH, C. C. *pen*, a hill, *rhudd*, red, the town on the red hill.

PENRUDDOCK (H. C. ending *og*), little Penrith.

PETTERILL, C. C. *pedrogyl*, the quadrangle, the Roman fort at Plumpton, now the name of a river.

POOLEY, C. C. *puwl*, water, a name for the lower part of Ullswater, the A. *ey* converting it into the name of a township.

SILURES (H. C. *siollaridhe*, the youths, the clans), the confederates.

SKIDDAW, C. C. *sgyddau*, the Scots' mountain.

TORPENHOW, H. C. *tor*, hill, C. C. *pen*, hill, with a D. ending of the same meaning. Pr. *torpenna*, accenting on the second; this renders impossible any such derivation as Torpen's how. Cf. Penhow, Monmouth.

TUNNOCELLUM, C. C. *tun uchel*, the high fort, placed at Bowness in Cumberland.

ULLSWATER (H. C. *uille*, the elbow), the name given to the upper part of the lake, as Pool to the lower, and found in Ullock, Ulldale, etc. Water is quite a late addition, and it is not more singular to have Ull *survive* as the name of a lake, than Penrith as the name of a town.

VERODA (H. C. *uidhe*, a road, *ruadh*, red), the great Roman road that passed north through the forest, probably paved with red stones. Farther north it was called Wadling (H. C. *uidhe leana*), the road of the marsh (or river side), preserved in Tarn Wadling.

This shows clearly the origin of Watling Street, the Roman road from London to Chester, which was transferred in English times to the Milky Way. Grimm wonders who were the Watlings, the proprietors of two such famous streets! The reader will see that they were a Celtic *family*. Cf. Weedon, the road fort, Weeford, the road ford, Watford, the same, all on the line of Watling Street.

WINSTER (*wincaster*, Cf. Winchester), the name of the fort at Crook. *Venta*, the perfect form of the first part of this compound, as in *Venta Silurum*, appears to be eq. our market-town (Lat. *vendo*, sell), and perhaps was more common than is supposed. Cf. Wimpole, Cambridgeshire (*venta pwl*) the market-town on the water. Windermere I am disposed to refer to the same origin.

WREAY, H. C. *reidh*, an opening or clear space in a wood, a glade, also found in Dockray (Penrith and Kendal), etc. The ancient word, as well as the modern one, is practically two syllables, and the aspirated *d* takes the sound of *y*. Cf. Raleigh, one part of which translates the other.



CHAPTER VI.

THE MIXED COLONISATIONS OF CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND.

THE Gothic tribes, who formed the mixed colonists of Britain, found their way hither as auxiliaries already under the Romans. There can be no doubt that immediately on the decline of Imperial power in the north, this island would form one of the most inviting places of resort for those sea-side people whose trade was plunder. It is the opinion of Worsaae,* that, during the Roman dominion, a brisk trade was carried on between Denmark and the east coast of Britain; but the commerce of those remote times can hardly be said to be materially connected with the series of invasions that commenced early in the fifth century, and continued unceasingly down to the close of the eleventh.

The early history of these invasions is quite lost, the supposed chronicles constructed in later times being utterly fabulous in their details. The circumstances of the time, and the endless contests between opposing interests, prevented the preservation of traditions by either race; moreover, the Goths were not a people of tradition, nor of history, until they learned the art from others. In short, the Welsh, who were the authors of much of this early "Saxon history," were the worst informed of the events, and the least scrupulous of traditionists. Hengist and Horsa, the supposed leaders on whom the whole of the first invasion is laid, are *myths*, the words being in English *horse* and *mare*, names that could not possibly be borne by any two brothers that ever lived. The capti-

* Danes and Norwegians in the British Isles.

vation of Vortigern by Rowena, who said to him "Wæs hæł," is an invention of the same stamp as a thousand others—contrived to account for the name of the *wassail* bowl.*

Stories of awful massacres were sure to arise out of the state of things that existed in Britain for some centuries; yet from these disjointed tales, and the presumed disappearance of Celtic from the map of England, was established the belief that the old Britons were all exterminated. Every kind of modern research is against the assumption. The Anglo-Saxon language is no longer the Angle or Saxon of the continent. It has been remarked in the imperfect investigation of the graves,† that the Saxon habits, as seen through the sepulchral remains, are strongly Romanised. How could this happen, except through the Celts?

It has also been asserted that the Britons emigrated *en masse*. Let us inquire is there any traditionary evidence that a number of Britons did leave the country? In the county of Tipperary, in Ireland, there is a hill known as Cnocshanbrittas, the hill of the old Britons, on which stand two Cromleacs and a giant's grave. This name, doubtless, rests on a tradition that a party of fugitives had reached Ireland. Brecknock, in Wales, I believe to be of British foundation—*Bret cnock*, the Britons' hill. Cornwall, and Bretagne furnish no such evidence. And it must be observed, that all those districts had then as dense a population as they could support, and that emigrant Britons might as well have remained to be massacred, as flee for refuge (according to the old story) to the mountains. But, as we have seen, at the bottom of all such exaggerations there is generally a grain or two of truth.

Between the Germans and Scandinavians of Europe, a marked distinction always existed. The first permanent Gothic invaders of Britain were Jutes, and, therefore, Scandinavian. On the contrary, the Saxons were Germanic; but there is every reason to suppose that the Angles were a mixed tribe, containing both Danes

* Fr *vaisselle*, plates and dishes. It. *vasellamento*, gold or silver plate. The wassail bowl was the piece of plate of the house.

† Archæological Index, by J. Y. Akerman.

and Germans. The last-mentioned emigrated in such numbers, that, says the Saxon Chronicle, their country lay waste for many years between the Jutes and the Saxons. The marshy and unhealthy state of the district is the only probable cause of this total desertion. Of the two great invading tribes, the Saxons were perhaps the more cruel, as the Britons who left the country appear to have spoken of none but the Saxon. Thus, in Irish and Welsh, it became the name of an Englishman, and eventually a synonyme for a stranger.

The remoteness of Cumbria, and the difficult nature of the ground, saved these counties from the storm that broke over the south of Britain. Moreover, the length of time that elapsed between the first landing of the Angles on the east coast, and their invasion of Cumbria—about a century and a half—is strong proof that there was no conquest of Britain, in the modern acceptation of the word. The first Angle invasion of this district is, probably, that which is mentioned in history as a conquest under Ecgfrid, A. D. 685. We can trace them satisfactorily, by the termination *ton*, from the eastern coasts, until they spread and diverge through the most fertile parts of Cumbria.

The Roman roads were everywhere taken advantage of by the invaders, but especially by the Angles. They entered Cumbria by the road that accompanied the Wall, their first settlement being Walton. From this place they crossed the river to Brampton, and having gained the road then called Wadling, they advanced through the forest in the direction of Penrith; amongst other places establishing themselves at Plumpton, Hutton, and, finally, at Newton. In this part of Cumberland we have them fully identified; the people who lived about them knew well who they were, and therefore named the forest Inglewood, the wood of the Angles.

The Maiden Way likewise brought its share, precipitating one part thereof on Aldston, Dufton, Marton, Bolton, and Orton, and directing the other by the Ambleside road, "High Street," to Clifton, Helton, and Bampton. In the north, besides those people who entered the forest, two other streams left the wall, one going

in the direction of Longtown, another westward towards Wigton. The Cumrew of the fell-sides were thus isolated from the rest of Cumbria, but we subsequently find them uniting with the Angles at Cumwhinton, Cumwhitton (C. C. *cwm*, a valley).

The Saxons entered Cumbria from the south. Under their most peculiarly distinctive mark, the termination *ham*, they do not seem to have made much impression even on Lancashire. In Westmorland, their principal settlements were near the lakes and rivers; and we find them between Kendal, Morecambe, and Windermere, and near Ullswater and the Eamont. We cannot assume the arrival of the Saxons in Westmorland to have been earlier than the close of the eighth century. As an invasive or colonising people, they never entered Cumberland.

The movements of the Danes in Cumbria are more difficult to determine than those of either Angles or Saxons. Identifying them by their peculiar terminations, the most usual of which are *by* and *thorpe*, we find them more or less spread through the two counties. Of the Danish population of the north of England, a large proportion always continued to lead an unsettled, roving life, prepared to take part in any kind of commotion. After the pressure of defeat, some of those marauders would find in these counties a secure place of refuge. Through Cumberland they extended themselves into Scotland, and this points more particularly to an immigration from Yorkshire.

The Danes were not the only Scandinavian people that colonised these counties. Some Norse endings testify to the presence of a few Norwegians. One portion of these, perhaps, reached Cumberland by sea, but a great part might easily find their way over land with their kinsmen. Prof. Worsaae adduces evidence to show that the bulk of the Scandinavians of England (including Cumbria) were Danes. In Lincolnshire, the most purely Danish part of England, he reckons two hundred and twelve names of places ending in *by*, and in Cumberland and Westmorland sixty-three. The endings *by* and *thorpe* are scarcely known in the Norwegian districts of Scotland, the Islands, the Isle of Man, or Ireland. And this is tolerably conclusive on the Scandinavians of Cumbria.

The last people that entered the north-west of Europe, came in two divisions, the Swedes and Norwegians. The latter crossed, or passed round, the gulf of Bothnia; and having penetrated the Kiölen mountains, they settled on the coasts of the Atlantic. Both these tribes were provided with iron weapons, but continued to burn the corpse down to a late period. The Iron age thus introduced into the north, flourished in Sweden and Norway long before it made its way into Denmark. It is remarkable, too, that the Iron graves of Denmark contain exclusively unburnt corpses. In these data we possess an additional means of ascertaining what claim the Norwegians may have to the colonisation of Cumbria.

The immigration of the Angles, though well-defined and widely spread, does not seem to have been very strongly supported by numbers. Their attitude on the map of the whole kingdom is that of a dominant people, who penetrated by bold expeditions, where others only reached by the slow progress of population.* It need scarcely be observed, that the fact of the Angles having given their name to the country and to the language, is quite in accordance with this characteristic. But as neither Angles nor Saxons tended very much to *fill* these counties, it remained for the Danes and the Norsemen to assume an apparent preponderance on the map that did not belong to their numbers. It is well known, too, that the Dane never scrupled to make himself a home as the cuckoo builds a nest, and that his only reparation was to change or disguise the name, if he were able. Penrith, in Cumberland, is a remarkable instance of the Danish mode of colonisation. This place remained a Cambro-Celtic settlement, with, of course, a considerable population, until the

* In the Angle parts of England the ending *ton* frequently appears in names of places of importance. It is not so in the Saxon parts, where in such cases *ton* is never found except as an addition to the older name. Northampton, Southampton, are examples, in which the Saxons could not have added *ton* to their own *ham*, the former having had with them only the lesser meaning of a farm or farm-house. Cf. Wolverhampton and Birmingham. The accent on the second syllable shows the construction of the compound.

honest Danes "made their own" of it, as we find by the names with which the interior of the town abounds.*

Nevertheless, together with this unfortunate want of discrimination in affairs of property, the Dane possessed many good qualities that it is useless any longer to deny, at least in England. Chief of these was the disposition to unite with those about him, which must have peculiarly fitted him to be the colonist of a distracted country, such as England was for a length of time. The fusion is not so apparent in Cumbria, though the points of junction with the other peoples are sufficiently numerous. Celts and Danes have united in many places, the most remarkable of which is Oughterby (Upperby); Danes and Angles, at Skirwith and Dalston (the town in the dale); Danes and Saxons, at Askham, Hackthorpe, Dallam (dale-ham), and Kempley, near Penrith, and in Westmorland. But there was also in the Dane a stubborn, restless individuality, contrasting with the easy, centralising disposition of the Saxon, that must have exercised a wholesome influence on the laws and constitution of the country. Without granting all that Prof. Worsaae claims for his countrymen, there can scarcely be any doubt that to the Danes we owe our system of by-laws, Scotch bir-laws (D. *by*, *byr*, a town), that is, laws made for a town, perhaps the most valuable part of our present mode of government.

* Penrith has thus been converted into *Perith*, though it is not meant to be insinuated that old predatory habits appear in the change.

CHAPTER VII.

MIXED NAMES OF PLACES.

THE mixed or Gothic names of places in England, compared with the Celtic, bear the character of lateness, that is, a great part of them belong to the present day, and nearly all the rest to the period immediately preceding. Substantive names have already become endings; and through this arises a facility of dealing with them,—they may be classed by their terminations, and thus apportioned to the different peoples. It holds good as a general rule, that no tribe of people used two different endings to express precisely the same meaning.

Mixed names, compared with older names, are liable to an illegitimate increase; what the latter lose, the former gain. All that has been said on pseudo-etymology in a former chapter, belongs equally to this place. The latest dialect gains from all the preceding, checked only by the dominant language. Prof. Worsaae observes on this subject: "It is not of course very easy to point out the meaning of every name of a place that has a Danish or Norwegian termination, * * the Scandinavians having often merely added an ending to the older names, or at most remodelled them into forms that had a *home-like sound to their ears*." This *remodelling*, having no connexion with the origin of the place, must be especially worthless to ethnographers.

One of the latest and most ordinary mistakes that second colonists make with regard to older names, is that of personification. If the name is not otherwise to be accounted for, it becomes the name of a person. The moor in Denmark called Dannerlyng, on the centre of which stands a single stone, is said to be the burial-place of *King Dan*, the first king of Denmark. Dunmaile

(the hill of the tumulus) was in the same way converted into a crowned head, and the addition of "raise," eq. *maile* was thus made intelligible,—it was King Dunmaile's Raise. The mistakes of this kind amongst mixed names of towns, barrows, and monumental stones, must be very numerous.

ANGLE TERMINATIONS.

Bury, berry (N. *byr*, a farmhouse), a village originating in a farmhouse.

Ey (H. C. *i*, D. *ö*, an island, H. C. *innis*, an island or river-side ground), river-side ground more or less surrounded by water. Eq. in meaning to the D. *ing*.

Ton (C. *dun*, *tun*, a hill, a fort), a farmhouse and outbuildings strengthened for defence.—The Eng. *town*.—Hutton (G. *hut*, guard), the herdsmen's village is nearly eq. Wharton, Warwick, etc. Whitehaven has also the popular name of Whitton.

Wick (Lat. *vicus*, a village, N. *ve*, a dwelling), a village. Wigton, that is, Wick-ton, eq. Wickham. It has become *wick* in the Saxon parts of England.

Worth (N. *virki*, a mound, an entrenchment, D. *värge*, to defend, Eng. *work*), a village originating in a fortified house. Cf. the D. *wark*. Naworth (G. *neu*, new) and Newark have precisely the same meaning. In Warkworth we have both forms explaining each other. There is no doubt that Workington is the correct form of Worthington.

SAXON TERMINATIONS.

Barrow, berg (A. S. *beorg*, a hill, a tumulus, G. *berg*, a hill) a burial-place. Bargheist, the ghost that haunts the barrow. Eq. the D. *höi*, a hill, a tumulus.

Burn (C. *bran*, a mountain torrent), a stream.—The Fr. *borne*, a boundary.—The two parts of Wytheburn (C. C. *gwyth*) translate each other. Holborn in London (*holtbourne*), the wooded stream, was probably once the name of the Fleet.

Ham, a village. Sebergham is explained by Sedbergh (H. C. *sidhe*, a hill, A. S. *beorg*, a hill). The Eng. diminutive hamlet, a village, shows plainly that the *ham* had then become a town.

Hill, both Angle and Saxon, is frequent in this district, but seems to be late. It is generally found as a repetition: Brownberg Hill, Castle Law Hill (A. S. *beorg*, a hill, *hlæw*, a hill), etc.

More, a moor. Westmorland was probably the original name of the Morland district. Melmerby (D. *mellem*, cf. *mellemmuur*, *mellemwei*, the middle wall, the middle way), the "town on the middle of the moor," furnishes us with the same orthography as is found in Westmeria.

There are other terminations, *brough*, a castle, *brig*, a bridge, *land*, *ley*, a meadow, and *mere*, a lake; but most of them are Angle as well as Saxon.

Late English terminations, such as *water*, *stone*, etc., as they belong to the dominant language, can be of no use to the ethnographer.

DANISH TERMINATIONS.

By (D. *by*, a town), a village originating in a farmhouse and outbuildings. Gamblesby (D. *gammel*), old town, contrasts with Newby; Upperby with Netherby, lower town. Scaleby (D. *skiul*, a shelter or refuge) may be compared to the Angle Skelton. Tebay (N. *thy*, a slave or bondman) seems to belong to this termination. Kirkby is invariably of Christian origin, as Kirkby Stephen, Kirkby Kendal, etc. Kirkby Thore cannot have any connexion with the god Thor; it is so called from the Roman road, N. *thor*, H. C. *tochar*, a highway.

Cleugh (N. *kliufa*, to split, D. *klöft*, a cleft), a ravine or glen.—The provincial *clough*, the fork of a tree, and the Eng. *claw*.

Croft (N. *grafa*, to dig, D. *gröft*, a ditch), a field surrounded with a sunk fence, a close.

Dale (D. *dal*), a valley). Garsdale means grass-dale, Sleddale (D. *slet*, plain), the open, level dale, and Naddle (D. *nöd*, cattle), the grazing dale. Cf. Nateby and Natland. Smardale (D. *smör*), butter-dale.

Fell (D. *field*), a mountain, a hill.—The Angle *field*, the side or slope of the hill, as in Sheffield.—Fairfield (D. *faar*), the sheep fell, Souter Fell, the southern fell. Cf. Sutherland, Scotland, the southern land.

Ford (D. *fiord*), an arm of the sea.

Garth (N. *gardhr*, a hedge) an enclosed field. Crewgarth (H. C. *corrach*, a marsh), the field enclosed on the marsh, Cunning Garth (N. *kuningr*, a rabbit), the rabbits' field.—The D. *gaard*, a country house.

Gate (D. *gade*), a street, the main thoroughfare of the town. Stramongate (D. *stram*), Kendal, the straight street, Boroughgate, Penrith, castle-street, Bongate (D. *bonde*), the peasants' street. Cf. Bannerdale, Bannisdale (D. *bönder*, peasants). Clappersgate (N. *kleppr*), rough street.

Hope (N. *hop*), a place of refuge, a hollow between two hills. Warcop seems to be from *wark hope*, the fortified hope, and Rodderup from, perhaps, the D. *röd*, red, the red hope.

Ing (D. *eng*, a meadow), river-side ground. Nearly eq. the N. *syke*. Hincaster, the camp in the meadow.

Keld (D. *kilde*, a fountain), a spring.—N. *kill*, a brook.

Scales (D. *skiul*, a shelter), a temporary place of abode. Hudscales eq. Hutton (G. *hut*, guard). The *shield* of the borders, and the Shields of Northumberland and Durham.

Side (H. C. *sidhe*), a hill. Hartside is undoubtedly a hill. The general use appears to be eq. the Angle *field*, the hill-side.

Skaw, *scaws*, *skew*, *sceugh*, *shaw* (D. *skov*), a wood.

Stead (D. *sted*), a place.—The G. *stadt*, a town.—Bonstead (D. *baas*, a stall), the place for cattle, eq. Cabus, Lancashire (D. *ko-baas*, the cowstall.)

Stock, *stoke* (D. *stok*, a stick), a house fortified with a stockade. Cf. Stockholme, the island of the fort, the D. *stokhuus*, a jail, etc.

Thing (N. *thing*, an assembly, a court of justice), the district belonging to a court of justice. Irthing (H. C. *iar*), the western district, has given its name to a river.

Thorpe (N. *thorp*), a village.—G. *dorf*, a village.

Thwaite (N. *thveitr*, a piece of land, a meadow, or field), a piece

of ground separated or enclosed to some extent, generally by rivers, as in Roundthwaite, Westmorland, where the rivers nearly form a circle.—A. S. *thweotan*, to cut off.—Wyberthwaite, C. C. *gwy*, water, D. *byr*. Braithwaite is from the D. *bred*, broad, and Braithwaite from the D. *brat*, steep.

Wath (N. *vadha*), a ford. Longwathby (pr. *langaby*), the village at the long ford. Yanwath is a contraction of Yamonwath, the ford of the Eamont (*Yamon*), that is, the water mound (the former name of King Arthur's Round Table), now transferred to the river.

With (A. *wick*), a village. Cf. *worth* and *work*. Skirwith (D. *skiär*, a rock) eq. Clifton. Names of places with this ending are not numerous, but there is a strong tendency in the district to substitute *with* for *wick* and *worth*.

NORWEGIAN TERMINATIONS.

Ber, *bires* (N. *byr*, a farmhouse), a farmhouse or village. Kaber (D. *ko*, a cow) is eq. Nateby (D. *nöd*, cattle). The first parts of Birthwaite, Birbeck, Barwick, Barton, are of this origin. Burton and Bruton are probably from *brough*.

Frith (N. *fjörðr*, an arm of the sea), an estuary. The Angle use of the word seems to be that of a glen, with generally a river passing through it: Holmefirth, Chapel in the Frith.

Gill (N. *göl*, a mountain chasm), a glen.

Haugh, *how* (N. *haugr*), a hill or burial-mound. Bruckenhow, the hill at the bridge.

Holme (N. *holmi*), a little island, as the holmes in Windermere. Eq. the D. *ö*. The Danish and Angle use of the word in Cumbria is that of ground more or less surrounded by a river. Farrisholme (D. *faar*), the sheep's holme, and Hestholme (D. *hest*), the horses' holme, may be compared to Oxenholme (D. *öxen*).

Ness (N. *nes*), a cape.

Syke (N. *siki*, a marsh), wet meadow-land. All the present sykes were once marshes.

Street (N. *stræti*), a lane. Finkle-street, Kendal and Carlisle (D. *vinkel*), the crooked street. The Angle use of the word is that of

a highway, as in the Roman road, High Street. We have also Plumpton back-street and front-street, which are nothing but the old and new roads to Carlisle.

Tarn (N. *tiörn*), a small lake. Tarn Wadling, the lake on the Roman road, Wadling. For Talkin Tarn, cf. Talk o' th' Hill, Staffordshire.

Of the other terminations, *beck* (D. *bäk*), a brook, *biggin*, (D. *bygning*), a building, *cot* (N. *kot*), a hut, *rig* (D. *ryg*), a ridge, *scar* (N. *sker*), a rock, and *slack* (N. *slakr*), marshy ground, etc., some at least are doubtful.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MODERN PEOPLE.

HAVING pointed out the groundwork on which an approximation to the elements of the modern people may be made, it is still difficult to convey an impression of what must be considered the true proportions. The investigator who has gone over the ground, examined the original settlements and their probable extent, forming an idea of the manner in which subsequent colonists pressed in between, and finally obliterated the traces that they found before them, will necessarily make allowances, though he may find it impossible to impress his views on the reader. To an ordinary observer, the Danish name of a town stands as the representative of some hundreds of a Danish population; but this view, as has been shown in the preceding pages, must be utterly erroneous.

The Mixed people of Cumbria, there is hardly a doubt, outnumbered the Celtic, as the Danes and Norwegians exceeded in number the Angles and Saxons. And hence arose the preponderance of the Danish dialect. It is probable the Danes originally took exclusive possession of certain districts, for the simple reason that they found them unoccupied. In the same way the Angles visibly spread themselves by means of the Roman roads. But this would by no means justify us in saying that we have here, at the present day, an Angle population, any more than we have in another place a Danish one. Settling side by side, and mixing from the first, it can scarcely be otherwise than that the elements of the population are as thoroughly blended in Cumbria, as in other parts of England.

Yet it may be said, that in the various parts of Cumbria certain differences of dialect and manners are observable; but this is only what might reasonably be expected, as the district is mountainous and difficult of access, and the population could only for a long period hold intercourse and mix according to the natural divisions of the country. Cumbria has, moreover, been always open to the influence of the rest of England. Scottish intercourse has unceasingly acted on the north, as Lancashire influence on the south. And as it is along the high roads, the arteries of traffic, that foreign influence makes itself felt, these localities are exactly the places that will be found to differ most from the secluded dales and fellsides. On these districts foreign influence can only act indirectly, or through the market-towns, and this it is doing effectually of late years, fast removing all traces and relics of the olden time.

Various essays have been made to find a resemblance between the people of Cumbria and the Scandinavians of the continent, but especially of Norway, the latter being presumptively unmixed. As regards the appearance of the men, quite as striking a likeness may be traced in the people of some parts of Ireland, where, in all probability, the population is *mixed*. The diet of this district approaches very nearly that of North Wales, the reason being obvious,—the produce of the mountains is in both places the same.* The stature of the people, with perhaps some exceptions, may easily be paralleled in other parts of the British Isles; and the prevailing fairness of complexion observable in certain districts, is an argument that cannot well be used in the present case, as this characteristic of races is no longer the same as it was known to the ancients. Wherever a similarity of complexion at present exists, it may be traced to local causes. On this subject Prichard observes: "The ancient Germans are said to have had universally yellow or red hair, and blue eyes. This, says Niebuhr, has now in most parts of Germany become uncommon. * * * The Chevalier Bunsen has assured me, that he has often looked in vain

* Kohl, the German traveller, observed a great similarity between the Welsh and Tyrolese.

for the auburn or golden locks, and the light cerulean eyes of the old Germans, and never verified the picture given by the ancients of his countrymen, till he visited Scandinavia; there he found himself surrounded by the Germans of Tacitus. * * * The climate of Germany has in fact changed since the country was cleared of forests." And the difference between the two races, as he shows by ample evidence, was that the Germans were more red-haired, and *the Celts more flaxen-haired*.*

The clan system, which prevailed amongst the Scandinavians and Celts, must have continued to a late period in Cumbria, and to this we owe the numerous names ending in *son*, which is an exact equivalent to the prefixed *Mac*, *O* or *Ap* of the Celtic peoples. This class of names appears to have come generally into use with the final spread of Christianity, and of course wherever the clan system then prevailed, the termination *son* was adopted. The class of names mentioned was preceded by a very extensive stock more especially belonging to heathen times. Some part of these were no doubt derived from qualities, but that a large proportion were local names is equally certain. The custom of taking names from the dwellings, observes W. von Humboldt, must prevail wherever the people have given up the nomade life, without yet uniting to form cities. He cites the case of the Old Prussians, amongst whom every dwelling is said to have given its name to its possessor.

The Angles appear to have adopted the termination *son* to some extent; Hanson and Ianson are Angle, and both equivalent to Johnson. But it is especially under the class of local names that Angle names of persons are to be looked for. With these modern Saxon names form a remarkable contrast, being, generally speaking, taken from trades, occupations, colours, and all sorts of peculiarities.

The Celtic and Scandinavian names have been enriched by a very considerable interchange. An example or two must suffice to show the manner in which this has taken place. The English

* Natural History of Man.

name Nelson (common in some parts of Ireland) is generally explained from Nicholas, the correct form of which must therefore be Nicholson. How was the name converted into Nelson? There is no doubt it is identical with the Irish O'Neill, a genitive form, the nominative of which is Niall, a word that may be found in Irish dictionaries explained as a "hero." If, then, we are not willing to take the name as of Celtic origin, we are driven to the conclusion, that some Christian Northman so signalised himself in Ireland that his name became a synonyme for a hero, and that from him are descended the O'Neills of Ireland, which genitive passing back into Scandinavia, made out the equivalent Nelson. Again, the Cumbrian name so long spelt Grame, is of course correctly Graham, for in the same way Brougham is pronounced very plainly *broom*. Graham is a local name in *ham*, the first part being found in M'Grath (pr. *magrah*); and Grath is the Scandinavian *garth*, a field, Celticised.*

The extensive stock of names claimed as exclusively belonging to the heathen Northmen, numerous enough to overrun the etymology of all England, must have received many additions of the kind described. It is possible, too, that many of them are Tartar. But at least one thing is certain, that the native etymology of the Norse names is quite unreliable. Some of the mixed kind have found their way into Cumbria, but for the most part it is now difficult to recognise them. It may be objected that we have no pure Celtic names remaining in Cumbria, but their absence is still less surprising here than in Wales.†

The clan names of the north continued long unbroken, especially on the Border. Scott tells a story corroborative of this, concerning a certain beggar woman who, one evening in a Border village,

* Cf. the Russ. *gorad*, *grad*.

† Names of persons ending in *stone* are of doubtful origin. *Ton* is a much more probable termination, as such words should first become names of places. Johnstone and Edmoostone, the most usual of this class, seem to have originated in euphony. Yet it would be difficult to account in any other way for the names Robespierre, Robert's stone, Shakspeare (*Jacques pierre*) James's stone, Breakspeare, etc., all of which are Norman French.

sought lodging in vain at every door. "Are there no Christians here?" she asked at length. "Nay," returned the person addressed, "we're a' Johnstones and Jardines." Another proof of the cohesion of the clan names may be found in the necessity that so long existed of distinguishing persons with "by-names," as well as with a singular combination of patronymics. In certain districts Nan-Rob-Jack was well understood to mean John, son of Robert, son of Ann; but the same mode of expression is still usual enough—"Our Jo Bella" signifying "brother Jo's wife, Bella.

Any mention of the modern people would be incomplete without some account of that peculiar section called the potters—a phenomenon in civilised society—now more especially when altered circumstances threaten to bring about their extinction. The Potter belongs almost exclusively to the northern counties. In Northumberland and Durham the name is generally exchanged for that of the Tinkers, whilst in Lancashire he is (or was) really a potter or seller of pots (earthenware). But the Cumbrian Potter, a year or two since, was understood to be a man who ignored civilised life, put up his tent on the moor, or by the road-side, and slept as contentedly as a Tartar. His chief trade is that of making besoms, which his wife sells; but he is also sometimes found selling earthenware, and engaged in other occupations that need not be particularised. He was, in fact, the gipsy of the north of England, but is as unmistakeably indigenous as the latter is foreign. Now that the potters are no longer suffered by the police to encamp on the road-side, they keep together in the towns as much as possible, and will probably for some time form a separate community; but they seem destined to return into a society from whence they emerged.

The origin of the potter must probably be identified with that of vagrants in England generally. As bondage declined, vagrancy flourished, potterism apparently being the peculiar form taken by it in the north. But even the name is involved in obscurity. He may have been so called in late times because a part of the community sold pots, or much earlier on account of "pattering," or

begging. It is well known that the great epoch of vagrancy in this country was the suppression of the monasteries. Legislation was indeed directed against it before, but still vagrancy was recognised and fed. Nor has legislation been more successful since, for vagrancy still flourishes, reminding civilised, smoke-dried society of its origin. The peculiar dialect or "cant" of the vagrants points unmistakeably to a monastic state of society.*

The potter's language has nothing older than the period of the monasteries, and of course the greater part of it is pure Cumbrian. Many of the peculiar words are of modern introduction, for instance, when he *camp*s it for the winter, the screen that he provides for his fire is a *barricade*. But a considerable number of his terms are inventions and corruptions of an older date. When he puts his horse by night into a lane or field, he *slangs* him (an active derivative from the verb to slink, slinge); the three sticks to which he hangs his kettle over the fire, are the *chitty-box* (kettle-balks); and the master of the house, whom the "potter-wife" is careful to avoid, is called the *gaagy*, which, though I do not undertake to explain it, has evidently the same stamp as the rest. It seems highly probable on the whole, that when the shelter and food afforded by the monasteries were taken away, the vagrants of the moorland districts commenced the manner of life which they have ever since followed. They encamped and lived on the heaths and commons, then, as these were enclosed, in the lanes, until driven by the police into the scarcely habitable dens of towns that they had so long and so wisely eschewed.

* The term for the country at large, the *munkery*, I understand to be the Monkery—"He is on the munkery," that is, he is living by his wits—and telling a feigned story to excite pity, or *pattering*, was once simply the repeating of the *Pater*, the only return required for alms at a certain period.

CHAPTER IX.

ANTIQUITIES AND TRADITIONS.

AMONGST the ancient monuments of Britain, the well-known remains called Druidical circles hold a foremost place, though their use, and the people by whom they were erected, are questions that must still remain matters of dispute. The stone enclosures of Denmark, which resemble the circles of Cumbria in many respects, and cast so much doubt on the received opinion of their origin, mainly differ from them in that they are found in connexion with burial-chambers, whilst the latter are generally situated on the flat surfaces of moors, with nothing to indicate that they have ever been used for sepulchral purposes. Wherever, therefore, no urns or other remains have been found, we have negative evidence that the circle was not intended for a place of sepulture.

The principal monument of the class which we must continue to call simply by the name of Circles, is that known as Long Meg and her Daughters. Nearest to this in size and appearance, as far as they have been described, or need be mentioned here, are the Keswick Circle, Sunken-kirk in the neighbourhood of Millum, the Grey Yauds near Cumwhitton, and the Currocks near Bewcastle. Even of this limited number of circles, two show appearances of having been the enclosures of burial-places of the Stone age. The "recess" in the Keswick Circle, and certain stones in Sunken-kirk described as an entrance, may very possibly be the remains of chambers. Many other circles commonly called Druidical, were, without any doubt, places of sepulture, though no positive evidence has ever come to light on the subject.

Stone circles, wherever they can be identified as burial-places, are not of Celtic origin. It is therefore impossible to say what use may have been made of them by the Celts. The mixed people who succeeded were evidently ignorant of their original purpose, as appears from the general name *kirk* found in Kirkstones, Sunken-kirk, Currocks, and probably in the name of Carrock Fell, which is of the same indefinite meaning as "circle." But even to the latest times the Stone chambers and their enclosures have been the subject of strange conjectures, and elaborate (though foolish) theories. In Wales the chamber was supposed to have been a prison, and in Denmark it was considered as established (for a long series of years) that it was erected for a "place of sacrifice."

Next in interest to the Circle, but still more inexplicable, is the *man* of the fells. The name, though used by the Celts, has been elsewhere marked as Celtiberian, and this of course leaves the purpose of its erection in doubt. For this name the modern provincialism is *pike*, a word of more extended application. One of the "pikes" of Carrock appears to be similar to the "man" of the other fells, but there is another described as funnel-shaped, which is of quite a different construction. In Hutchinson's History of Cumberland may be found an interesting extract descriptive of Yeivering Bell in Northumberland, on which stands a hollow pike somewhat resembling the latter-mentioned one at Carrock. Beneath the Yeivering pike the stones were found to bear a strong impression of fire; and here we seem to have a connecting link between the men or pikes of Cumbria and the Beltain. But there is at present very little light to be thrown on this obscure part of our subject.

We have few decided remains of the Stone age. It has already been mentioned that the Keswick Circle probably belonged to this period. In the same neighbourhood four flint "battle-axes" have been found; one in Borrowdale, another in Buttermere, a third near Birkby, and the fourth on Bassenthwaite common. To this period must be referred the description of a "British temple, or something of that sort," recorded in one of the county histories. The whole enclosure was about thirty yards in circumference.

“Within the circle towards the east point, were found four stones much of the same form as the rest, lying one upon another, supposed to be some of the kistvaen kind.” This confused description is most probably an indication of a dilapidated chamber. With the exception, however, of bare circles, nearly all traces of the Stone people have been swept away.

Cairns, which are the most undisputed form of Celtic burial-place, were once very numerous in this district; but a great part must have been long since removed. The graves of Norway bear an outward resemblance to the Celtic cairn, but the main cause appears to be that in mountainous countries stones are more easily procurable than earth. Wherever a doubt, therefore, exists as to the proprietorship of one of these mounds, the only certain means of deciding would be afforded by an examination of the interior. The Norse cairn should enclose a stone chest, or wooden chamber, and certainly iron weapons. Of all the cairns described in Hutchinson, not one can with certainty be identified as Norse. There is no mention of iron, a number only contained urns and ashes; and though unburnt bones and corpses have been found, the Norwegians, as has been observed before, burned the body, until at or about the time of their conversion to Christianity.

Tumuli or barrows still remain in great numbers. As far as any records have been kept of those removed, nearly all must be claimed for the Bronze age, and the main part of those yet standing, are essentially of a Danish character. Again, in the description of this class of graves, we have no actual mention of iron antiquities. The cairn called Mill Hill appears to have been a Celtic burial-place, whilst Loden How was more probably Danish than Norse. Four different names are found in connexion with sepulchres of this kind: how, raise, barrow, and hill; but the distinction is principally that of age, and the order of the words as here placed indicates the period to which each belongs.

We have few traces of the Iron age, which is to be regarded as exclusively Norwegian, wherever the body has been burned. On opening Beacon Hill, near Aspatria, an unusually long skeleton was found; but as some of the exhumed antiquities are described

as affected by rust, it is possible that the grave was Norse of the latest period. Iron is said to have been found under two cairns, in the excavations at "Stoneraise Camp" in Dalston. Ormstead near Penrith was possibly a Norse burial-place, whilst Thulbarrow in the same neighbourhood (still remaining) is in all probability Danish. But there is no doubt an examination of the numerous tumuli yet scattered over the country, would extend and correct our knowledge on this interesting subject.

The popular names given to the graves are in general of no historical value, the greater part having been conferred centuries after the individuals lived. A number of traditions of this kind have been exploded in Denmark by the more accurate knowledge of late years. One most remarkable instance concerns the sepulchre of King Frode Frødegode (the peace-loving), who was believed to be interred in a large hill near Frederic's Sound in Seeland. The tradition that states this, is related by Saxo Grammaticus from a song old even in his time. The hill was opened three hundred years ago, but an inspection of the remains is sufficient to show that it was a Stone chamber belonging to an age many centuries prior to the time at which the Danish king flourished.

Runes are not to be found earlier than the Iron age, and in Cumbria they are still of later date. All those yet deciphered have proved to be Anglo-Saxon. On this part of our subject there is very little to be said, save that in doubtful cases every professor of runes imagines a different reading from every other, and where certainty prevails, the inscription invariably runs thus: "One person erected this to another," the name being rarely of the slightest importance.

Memorial stones of various kinds still remain in considerable numbers, the most remarkable of which perhaps is Nine Standards in Westmorland. Several villages called Unthank take their name from monuments no longer in existence, the word being in English *onthink*, and the phrase "to think on" still current in the dialect. *Bauta* stones are invariably found in connexion with graves.

The traditions connected with the names of places and persons, are equally unreliable with those belonging to the graves. Amongst

the stories of this kind, of which every country possesses its share, we may seek almost in vain for anything worth relating, except as a historical record of a particular kind of invention. The city of Duderstadt in Germany was built by two brothers (so says tradition), each of whom, when the task was completed, urged upon the other to give his name to the place. "*Gieb du der Stadt den Namen*" (Do thou give the city its name) was repeated between the brothers for a long time in this noble contest, until finally they could come to no other accommodation of their strife than to perpetuate its remembrance in the three words Du-der-Stadt (thou the city). Pity, says the philologist from whose work the tradition is taken, that this charming story is not to be found in Greek!

Traditions based on pseudo-etymology are spread all over England. The family of Percy (*Pier's ö*, Peter's island) received its name from their ancestor having *pierced* his enemy in the *eye*. Rutlandshire was a gift to one *Rut* of as much land as he could ride round in a day. At Colchester is a large earthwork called King Cole's kitchen, from the first syllable of the name, originally *Camalo* (dunum). Fulham and Putney on the Thames were built by two sisters, who had but one hammer between them. Each threw it across the river to the other when required, and the form of words used on one side was "*Put it nigh*," on the other "*Heave it full home*." As a general rule, the more ancient such traditions are, the more likely to gain credence.

The Cumbrian inventions of this kind are also clearly traceable. One of the most modern belongs to the origin of no less a place than Carlisle. While the city was yet building, a traveller happening to come that way, met with an old woman, of whom he inquired, "What will they call this place?" "Indeed," was the surly reply, "*I care lile*" (little). The traveller complained of the want of civility, and thus the city got its name.

Wotobank near Beckermont has given rise to a somewhat more romantic story, which is thus related in Hutchinson: A lord of Beckermont, and his lady and servants, were one time hunting the wolf. During the chase this lord missed his lady: after a long and painful search, they at last, to his inexpressible sorrow, found

her body lying on this hill or bank, slain by a wolf, and the ravenous beast in the very act of tearing it to pieces, till frightened by the dogs. In the first transports of his grief, the first words the sorrowful husband uttered, were "Woe to this bank!" since vulgarly called Wotobank.

An invention of a still higher kind is furnished by the name of Dunmaile Raise. King Edmund of England and the king of South Wales, we are informed, united their forces for the subjugation of King Dunmaile (a hill) of Cumbria. This potentate, though certainly posted on his own ground, sustained a most decisive defeat, being attacked, it appears, at once in front and rear; and as the poet has it, himself and "those of all his power," were "slain here in a disastrous hour." But he was honourably buried on the field of battle, and the hill called after his name. The age of this tradition is attested by the fact that it has found its way into Geoffrey of Monmouth's history, that is, about two centuries after the supposed event.

PART II.

THE DIALECT.

“WILLST du die Menschheit und ihre Vernunft kennen lernen, so studire die Menschengesprachen, und diese werden dir von manchem Kunde geben, was in keiner Seelenlehre und in keinem Geschichtsbuche steht.”

Dr. F. A. POTT.

Would you wish to get a knowledge of mankind and human reason, then study languages, and these will inform you of many things not written in history, and not to be found in any psychology.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

By the aid of analysis languages have been traced back to a certain common stage, beyond which, in the present state of linguistic science, we cannot reach. In this very early period are found to have existed radically different languages, and on these distinctions is based the division of mankind into stems or stocks. Several stocks of people have been named as once existing in Europe; and any earlier state of language or people than this, is founded on assumption.

The languages thus found to have existed, divide themselves, as we learn from history, into branches, which in course of time differ apparently as much from each other as the parent languages. One important distinction must be remarked,—philologists can pierce the disguise of the one, but not of the other. Branch languages subdivide into dialects, which finally become almost innumerable. Coincident with this phenomenon is that of nationality, the principle of popular unity,—a feeling without which man could never have accomplished the migrations of primitive times. Every dialect may be said to be the expression of this feeling of nationality. It is the fate of unwritten language, thus to divide and subdivide itself into dialects.

Written language comes in as a check to this disruption, but not until every district—it might almost be said, every town—possesses its own dialect. It is obvious, therefore, that whatever dialect first receives the literary impulse, must form the nucleus of the written language. In Greece several distinct impulses were

received and maintained; but such a case rarely occurs in so small a tract of country. On the contrary, dialects that receive the impulse later, subordinate themselves to the primary one, and are agglomerated in what is to form a new and more refined kind of language. The written language influences and finally becomes identical with the language of the learned. It goes with the stream of literature and education, and gradually extinguishes all that it does not incorporate with itself.

The sketch of the rise and decay of dialects here given, will shew the necessity, in investigating any one, of setting out with clear ideas on language. What is the cause of the subdivision of language into dialects? It must be observed that language is not the product of a simple, but of a compound power. The consequence of this is, that in the formation of dialects, it must undergo two changes, one affecting the vocabulary, the other the phonetic structure of the words. As the causes of the former change, the gradual development to which language has been subjected, and the dependence of this development on outward circumstances, may be considered sufficient. Outward circumstances vary, so does the vocabulary. But this will not account for the change of phonetic structure, which can only take place through the organs of speech. Ethnologists have not yet asserted that habits affect the human organs, and certainly if they are so affected, it is to a very inappreciable extent. Another cause there must be, which, in my opinion, is nowhere to be found but in the external influences of intercourse, and the mixture of originally different stocks of people. It follows that when the words of an absorbed population are no longer in the dialect under examination, evidence may still exist in the phonetic structure.

Hitherto it has only been to the vocabulary and grammar that philologists have looked for evidence of absorption. In these departments they may easily fail to find that for which they seek. It is well known that wherever synonymous words are taken into a language, the meaning divides itself between them. *Haupt* and *kopf* are examples, the former, meaning the intellectual head, being the proper High German word, the latter, meaning the skull, clearly

an incorporation from another dialect. The thinnest disguise—change of accent, etc.—moreover, has sufficed to conceal a foreign word even in the languages with which we are most familiar. What is the Scotch sicker? The answer is, the German *sicher*. But the German *sicher* is only the borrowed form of the Latin *securus*. The formation of such a word is an impossibility in the German languages, though in perfect accordance with Latin. “Hurricane” might be traced through all the European languages, yet we have indubitable proof that it comes from another hemisphere, and is actually an importation from the Carribean islands.

The argument that a dialect, because now unmixed, has always been so, is also fallacious. We know that dialects do mix, and that the tendency of language is gradually to incorporate, so as to make unrecognisable, or to throw off, its foreign elements. The ordinary conversation of the bilingual portion of the Irish people is freely mixed from either side, English words have taken a permanent place in Irish dictionaries, and Celtic still remains in English dictionaries. There is an authentic story of some antiquity concerning an English party of contraband tobacco-dealers, who introduced their commodity to a company of Irishmen. Neither side could understand one word from the other. At length an Irishman was found to act as interpreter, and these are the words of which he made use: “How many big *ordlaier* for my fat two penny, ipsaw law my company here?” This is in plain English:—“How many inches (of tobacco) for twopence, in the name of myself and all my company?” What still exists partially in Ireland, was once general in England. In such a process words are distorted from their original meanings, and frequently never recover. The influence of foreign organs on a language cannot be better exemplified than by reference to the Canton dialect. An Englishman in China finds that he cannot converse in Canton English* until he learns it. Suppose English should become the language of all Canton at some future time, would this dialect maintain

* The following is a portion of a dialogue with a Chinese bookbinder:—
 “How fashion you wanchee bindee?”

itself? or would it eventually become pure English? Neither result would be arrived at; the dialect spoken could not be otherwise than altered according to the nature of the Chinese organs.

One of the most important languages with which we can compare any of the English dialects, is the English itself, or, as it is called, the Anglo-Saxon. But it is evident that Anglo-Saxon is made up of widely-differing dialects. The state of modern English is very conclusive evidence on this point, as the discrepancy between the orthography and orthoepy is to be accounted for in no other way. The varying pronunciations of so many words are also the wrecks of dialects.

The pronunciation of English words has mainly depended on the period of their introduction into the dominant language, which varied with the influences bearing on it from the accessory dialects. In proof of this it can be shown that different periods of the same word coexist in various parts of England. The word "salve" is pronounced as it is written by those called the best speakers; but in some parts and by many persons it is pronounced *saave*, and in the Cumbrian dialect is *sawve*. From this we learn that if the word "calm" had been introduced earlier into English, it would have been pronounced *carwm*; and if sufficiently late, like the French *calme*.

In citing the Anglo-Saxon dictionary as an authority, it must be remembered that it is only a collection of all the words extant in the literature, whatever may have been their origin. The same objection certainly applies to the dictionary of every language, and the more strongly when the dialect under examination has higher claims to antiquity than that with which it is compared. Obviously, therefore, a dialect should at all times be taken as an individual whole, with reference to all its influences, but certainly with reference to something higher than the dictionary of this or that language.

"My wanchee takee go way alla this cover, putee nother piece."

"I savy; yon wanchee lever, wanchee sileek cofuh?"

"Alla same just now have got; you can do number one proper?"

"Can do, ca-an. I can secure my no got alla same lever for this; this have Eulop lever."—Chinese Repository, 1836.

CHAPTER II.

THE PHONETIC STRUCTURE.

If language may be correctly defined as a synthesis of idea and sound, we have in the phonetic structure of a dialect the body through which the spiritual essence struggles into existence. Taken absolutely, the phoneticism of language is but an imperfect representation of the idea, and written language still more imperfectly represents the sounds it is intended to transfer to our organs. Possibly in the language of books we can much nearer attain the idea of the writer, than the phoneticism of his language.

The disadvantage thus resulting from the defectiveness of written language, is first felt by the student in endeavouring to supplement his knowledge from books; but still more when attempting to convey his own impressions in the orthography that necessity and custom have imposed on the dialect. It is the fate of all uncultivated dialects to be rendered repulsive to strangers by their orthography, and in none is this the case more than in Cumbrian. The varying powers of English characters applied to a difficult phoneticism, would produce abundant confusion, but in addition, every writer has used his own discretion, besides being frequently compelled to vary from every other, by the peculiar pronunciation of his own locality. Should any proper attempt be made at producing a Cumbrian glossary, the orthography would not be one of its least difficulties.

The vocalism of the Cumbrian dialect presents us with two striking phenomena. But before proceeding to describe these,

it will be necessary to establish the names of the vowel sounds, by a comparison of the German or Italian (which are identical) with their English equivalents.*

German	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>
English	<i>ee</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>aa (ah)</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>oo</i>

The broad and narrow pronunciations (or expressions) of the Irish consonants (see page 31) must be again brought in question. The word *cen* (*cean*), the head, when pronounced by a native of the west of Ireland, is heard as the English "can," with an audible compression of the first consonant. The broad sound of the final consonant is only to be appreciated, by unaccustomed ears, in contrast with the narrow. Let a native of the south be heard to pronounce the same word, he calls it *kyown*. From this we learn that the narrow and broad expressions of the consonants are capable of being developed into respectively the short vowels *i* (*ee*) and *u* (*oo*). In the pronunciation *kyown*, the former appears as the semivowel *y*, the latter blended with the *a* sound, forms the diphthong *ow*.

It must be observed that *i* (*ee*), *a* (*aa*), *u* (*oo*) are principal vowels which no language is without; the other two, *e* (*a*), *o* are intermediate sounds that have developed themselves in some languages within the reach of history. The Cumbrian dialect shows the broad and narrow expressions of the initial consonants, developed more or less, almost invariably in conjunction with the intermediate vowels. Examples of these peculiarities are abundant. We find the narrow expression as a *y* in *gyate* (gate), *hyame* (home), and even attaching itself to the initial vowel, or rather enjoying an independent existence in *yell* (ale), *Yamon* (Eamont). With all but the guttural consonants this expression is so developed as to be written *e* or *ee*, as in *leaf* (loaf), *neam* (name), pronounced almost in two syllables. The broad expression is found in such words as *cworn* (corn), *strwoke* (stroke), and forms the distinction between *Odin* and *Woden*. It exists unwritten in the English "one."

* Wherever it is necessary to use the German vowel, the English equivalent will be given with it in parenthesis.

There is no doubt the seats of the organic peculiarities whence these phenomena proceed, are, of the broad expression in the lips, of the narrow in the throat.

The narrow expression has found its way very extensively into Anglo-Saxon. We find it in such words as *veall* or *vall*, a wall, the difference of orthography being that of dialect. Wherever the vowel was pronounced broad, as in modern English, the narrow expression could have no existence. Many words have developed the narrow expression to the extinction of the radical vowel, as in *leaf*, modern English "leave;" and the gutturals have been influenced by it in a remarkable manner. The L. *caster* became the A. S. *ceaster*, with the narrow expression appearing as an *e*, which the national organ being unable to accommodate, converted into the palatal *ch* in *chester*. The hard *g* under similar circumstances has been changed into the soft, palatal *g*. Danish shows the narrow expression only in connexion with gutturals, and developed to a semivowel, written *j* (*i*) in *hielp*, *kierne*. The narrow expression of the initial guttural is also preserved in French, in such words as *guise*, *guet*, *kilomètre*, *cueillir*, that is, on hard gutturals before narrow vowels; but it is not so strongly developed as in Danish, and requires no mark in the orthography. Exactly similar in character is the pronunciation of such words as *guide* (*gyide*), *kindness* (*kyindness*), prevalent in the upper classes of English society. It must be considered as a remnant of a more perfect ancient pronunciation, or as proceeding from recent Norman influence. These peculiarities can scarcely be said to exist in Norse or Islandic.

The sound of the German *ö*, represented in Danish by the barred *o*, has no existence in Cumbrian; but the G. *ü*, or Danish *y*, is found very nearly in such pronunciations as *fyut* (foot). The D. barred *o* (for which the G. *ö* is substituted in our typography), reappears in Cumbrian generally, if long, converted into the E. *a*: D. *töve*, to loiter, C. *tave*, D. *döse*, to make dull, C. *daze*; or D. *bröd*, bread, C. *breed*; if short, into *u* or *e*: D. *mög*, dung, C. *muck*, D. *kiöd*, flesh, C. *ket*; or got rid of: D. *höi*, high, C. *hee*, D. *dröi*, slow, C. *dree*. The D. *y* has become, if long, the E. *i*: D. *sysle*,

to be busy, C. *sizle*; if short, the E. *i*. or *u*: D. *lyng*, heath, C. *ling*, D. *dyb*, deep, C. *dub*.

The Cumbrian dialect has been under English influence from an early period; that is, words have been taken up from English in abundance, while the dialect still possessed the power of acting on them by a process somewhat resembling assimilation. All the words containing the E. *oo*, have been so treated: E. foot, C. *fyut*, E. school, C. *schœul*, E. root, C. *rute*. It is remarkable that broad sounds invariably accompany the E. *r*; the broad expression being perfectly audible in the pronunciation of such words as beer (pr. *bee-ur*). On the contrary, the narrow C. vowel in *pruve* is difficult, if not impossible, to southern English organs.

The comparison of Danish, Cumbrian, and Norse consonants shows a remarkable variation in the final sounds of the two former languages—hard and soft frequently interchanging—and in the same cases an identity between the two latter: D. *lede*, to seek, C. *late*, N. *leita*. But in these cases identity with Norse is likewise identity with modern English: D. *fod*, C. *fyut*, E. foot. It is probable that much of what appears Norse, and not Danish, has been derived from the Angles; as there is no doubt that at the first coming of the northern tribes into the peninsulas, their dialects differed slightly, and that the Angles, from their position on the continent, and their modern dialects compared with German, were a mixture of the two Gothic branches, or else did not belong to either.

Some very striking phenomena appear in connexion with the Cumbrian consonants. Anderson's ballads have several instances of the change of *k* into *t*: *tnop* for knop, a tub, *tnock*, *tnow*, for knock, know. In the final we have *weet* for week, by means of which we may explain knot, a hill, from the Celtic *cnoc*, and the name of the village musicians, the waits, from the wakes or ancient vigils (watchings) of the church. The sounds *c* (*k*) and *t* were considered closely allied by the first Irish scholars, the characters which represent them differing very little: a short cross stroke on the head of the *c* forms *t*. The English quilt has become in Cumbrian *twilt*; but quick, quiet, quadrille, are *whick*, *whiet*, *whadrille*,

indicating a distinction of the time or manner of introduction of the two classes. The D. *qvie*, cow, is *why*; the *twilt* class must therefore be later than the *whick*. There is a singular (apparent) corruption of the name of Salkeld (the village) into *Saffeld*; but it is possible this place may once have been called Salkfield.

The Cumbrian of porridge is *poddish*, and of cabbage *cabbish*. *Poddish* may, however, be a more correct form than porridge; in Lancashire it is pronounced *poddige*, which points to the French *potage* as the origin. With this we should compare the Lancashire *sumburry* for somebody. There is no doubt that a number of words like *poddish* have entered Cumbria from Lancashire.

The dental *th* is not to be found among the ancient words of the district. Kirkby Thore is still pronounced Kirkby *Fure*, for Thursday we find *Furesday*, Grisenthwaite is very generally converted into *Grislefoot*, and *smuired* appears for smothered. The English article "the" suffers elision of its vowel even in the most difficult cases, as, "at th' doctor's." But this should be compared to the modern pronunciation of such words as *clothed*. In accordance with the above, the pronoun "thee" suffers contraction, and assumes the form of the article: "Did I touch the?" The Danish *t* has not suffered in many words; one instance, *tygge*, to chew, *C. cheg*, is an English transformation. The apocope of the final *d*, or even *t*, in Danish and Cumbrian, is very frequent, but not less so in ancient Irish. *Cean*, the head, was once *cent*, but the euphonic *n* caused the extinction of the radical. At a certain period Danish added *d* to the orthography of borrowed words that had it not; all such are now lost alike in sound. "Bran new" comes in this way from brand new. Jenny Lind is pronounced *Lín* in Cumbria as in Scandinavia; the name is to be found in this district, but is written Lynn. In any other position the *d* is preserved with surprising care, as in the E. *Wednesday*.

During the European transit of the Hiberno-Celts and Scandinavians, in other words, of those tribes that kept an exclusively northern route, some great changes of the labial organs took place. The Irish and Scandinavian languages lost the initial *p*, and consequently under this head in their respective dictionaries, there is

no word not of late introduction, whilst the number of indisputably borrowed words in the same section, is out of all proportion. The process of extinction is still to a certain extent living in the Irish language; for by the effect of aspiration, which happens under certain conditions, *p* becomes *f*, and *f* becomes mute. Cumbrian words, therefore, with labial initials may be regarded very suspiciously, as far as the Gothic languages are concerned. "From" is found in three different forms, *freb*, *frev*, and *frae*; "serve" becomes *sarra*, and "seven" "Stephen," in some localities at least, *sewen*, *Stune*. The D. *v* appears as the C. *w*. The initial *w* and broad expression are non-existent in Scandinavian, though of such constant application in Cumbrian, as in *worchit* (orchard). This sound, Prof. Worsaae observes, is to be found in West Jutland, which he regards as a proof of identity; but it must be considered rather identity of influence than of people.

The nasal sound written *ng* in English, is perfectly foreign to the Cumbrian dialect, and it is difficult to make appreciable to Cumbrian organs the difference between it and the substituted *n*. Planting, as it would be written in English, a place planted, is plainly pronounced *plantin*. D. *telt*, E. *tent* throws light on such transformations as the C. *pulsht* (punched), *chimley* (chimney), *rozle* (rosin). There are some other important changes, though perhaps not quite so general; the most remarkable is *thore* for those.

The euphonic sounds of the Cumbrian dialect are very striking. Evident traces of an extensive use of two, the *n* and *t*, still remain. Mrs. Wheeler's Dialogues furnish several examples of the former: "me nane barn," "Bet's nuncle," etc. The D. *brat*, steep, appears in Cumbrian as *brant*, and is one of a numerous class. The E. *nag* (D. *ög*) has assumed a euphonic initial, and the E. adder (G. *natter*) has lost one of the same character. At some period the Danish colonists of Cumbria thrust out the euphonic *n* introduced into the words of other people. Thus Penrith became *Perith*, just as the Scandinavians out of Pentland Frith made *Pesland* Frith, thence conjectured into the land of the Picts. *Harry* from *Henry* is a similar instance. Eamont, Beckermont, and some other words

appear from the orthography to have been pronounced for some time *Eamot*, *Beckermot*, etc. Many examples of the euphonic *t* are to be found: "the *tae* half," "this *tother*," and the very common phrase, "Gi me *t*'it." *Hogust* (*hog-huus*), a place for sheep, has a final euphonic *t*, which seems to be of irregular application. Traces of the same euphonism remain in French, as in *y a-t-il*, in which the *t*, though it has descended from the Latin flexion, has been retained for euphony.

The uses of the *n* and *t* quoted above, are evidently but relics of a former existence, whilst on the contrary the euphonic use of the *h* may be characterised as still living. Near Wigton, it has been observed,* the initial vowel is invariably aspirated when it should not, whilst the aspirate is rejected from words to which it properly belongs; but the same assertion would hold true of a great part of Cumberland and Westmorland. The organs of hearing are likewise peculiar in this respect, as might be tested by requiring an illiterate person to write from dictation a few sentences of ordinary English. The preference of this euphonism to the *n* is very striking; and if custom permitted, it would be more agreeable to Cumbrian organs to say *ahother* than another. E. adder is C. *hether*, D. *efter*, after, C. *hefter*, E. us, C. *huz*. Almost every hiatus is filled with the aspirate. *Hogust* shows its absence when the hiatus can be otherwise dealt with; but we even find in the written dialect "an hodd thing," which decidedly contains a superfluous euphonism. All three euphonic sounds are of universal application in the Irish language, and kept under very rigid laws. And there is no doubt, though their cause is inexplicable, that they have a deep-seated necessity in the organs of the people.

* Rev. J. Boucher, *Cumbrian Glossary*, 1833.

CHAPTER III.

THE VOCABULARY.

DURING the Roman occupation there existed in Cumbria two Celtic languages only partially intelligible to each other, besides those remains of older dialects (already mentioned) introduced with, or before the time of, the Celtic peoples. The forts constructed by the Romans (as far as we know anything about them) all bore Celtic names, certain evidence that each one was in connexion with a native population. Somewhat of the same state of things existed in Cornwall; yet in the latter province the native language maintained itself into the last century: in Cumbria our evidences are scanty that Celtic was ever spoken within its limits.

It is necessary to account for the extinction of Celtic in Cumbria compared with Cornwall. First, at the time of the Gothic invasion Cornwall was much more thickly populated than Cumbria; the latter, from the nature of the ground, contained fewer inhabitants than any other part of England. Secondly, against Cornwall only one section of the Gothic peoples was directed, against Cumbria both: add to which, the former received no Danish invasion. Thirdly, civil war being at an end, Celtic Cornwall could only be affected on one side, Cumbria was open to external influence on two sides, if not three.

Celtic survived to so late a period in Cornwall, that we have historical evidence of the time and manner of its extinction: this is altogether wanting in the case of Cumbria. In the year 1722, Cornish was spoken by the vulgar in two or three parishes at the Land's End, but the same persons also spoke English. Even

then the English dialect of Cornwall was remarked for its correctness, and it is probable we should now search its vocabulary in vain for evidence of a Celtic extraction. Why, then, need we be surprised that the English dialect of Cumbria retains few or no Celtic words, seeing that its old dialect was probably extinguished centuries before that of Cornwall.

It has been already pointed out (see page 5) that in the name of Holme Cultram we have evidence that Hiberno-Celtic was dominant in the northwest of Cumbria as late as the reign of Henry I. Lanercost is similar evidence on Cambro-Celtic. How late the ancient dialects maintained themselves on the slope of the Pennine, it is impossible to say; but probably as this was the part earliest colonised by the Celts, it was that in which their language latest survived.

The following is a part of what still remains current of the

CELTIC WORDS:

ARD (H. C. *ard*, high), dry.—Lat. *arduus*.

BEEL (H. C. *beul*, the mouth), to bellow.

BOGGART (H. C. *bac*, to stop, to hinder), a ghost. The *t* a euphonic addition.

BOGGLE (H. C. *bac*, to stop, to hinder), to be brought to a stand, a ghost or apparition.—The Welsh *bogelu*.

BRAID (H. C. *braith*, to betray), to resemble. "He braids o' me," he is like me.—Old E. bewray, G. *verrathen*, N. *bregda*.

CALKERS (H. C. *calc*, to harden), the irons fastened to clogs.—Lat. *calco*, I tread upon, A. S. *calc*, a shoe, E. calk, to stop the seams of a ship.

CAMMED (H. C. *cam*, to bend), crooked.

CAMMOCK (H. C. *cam*, to bend, dim, ending *og*, young, kind of), a crooked stick. The ending *ock*, wherever found, is Celtic.

CORP, H. C. *corp*, the dead body.

GAPE, GOPE (H. C. *gob*, the mouth, the beak of a bird), to talk foolishly. Prov. *gab*, *gob*, the mouth, *gabble*, E. gape, and many others.

GAWP (H. C. *corp*, the body), an unfledged bird, a young child.

GAWRLING (*gorpling*), a dim. of *gawp*, and in the same sense. Nursery saying: "Gape, gawrling, and I'll gi' thee a worm."

GOWL (H. C. *guil*, to weep), to weep or cry. Fr. *gueule*, the mouth of animals, *gueuler*, to brawl, E. howl.

LAM (H. C. *lamh*, the hand), to beat. Irish prov. *lambaste*, to beat violently.

MARROW (H. C. *mar*, like to), an equal. "This is not the marrows of it," these are not fellows.

MASK (H. C. *measg*, to mix), to mix with water—"to mask the tea." E. mash.

RAG (H. C. *rag*, abuse), to scold. Irish prov. to *ballyrag*, to abuse publicly in the street (*baile*, a town).

SAD (C. C. *sad*, firm), heavy, thick; "sad cake," when not made with yeast. This word cannot have come in any other way than through the Celtic, though it does not exclusively belong to the Welsh language.

URCHIN (H. C. *uircin*, a young pig, from obs. *porc*, a pig, see page 75), a hedgehog. E. urchin, a brat.

WAD (H. C. *uidhe*, a road), direction. "It lies in the same wad." *Wad*-lead probably so called because lying in strata.

In pointing out the Celtic words of any English dialect, we labour under the disadvantage of not having for comparison any portion of the original language, and instead only the cognate dialects Irish and Welsh. Moreover, so closely does a great number of Celtic words resemble those of the Gothic languages, that there is often a difficulty in deciding from which side to trace the descent.

For some time after the first Gothic invasions, a state of very great linguistic confusion existed in Britain. Fortunately, wherever different peoples come in contact, a considerable part of the population finds no difficulty in acquiring the language of the opposite side. The want of education does not appear to be an obstacle, and no doubt during the period in question, Britain had its bilinguals, and its dialects were freely mixed and corrupted. We cannot get a better specimen of much of the language spoken

during that time, than the word *luraane* (supposed to be lord-Dane), from the D. *lure* to lurk, H. C. ending *an* (pr. *awn*), Lat. part. *ant*, meaning a lurking fellow. But this kind of dialect, the product of necessity, disappears in course of time, until its traces become difficult to discover.

The dialect of Cumbria would probably have experienced the same fate as that of Cornwall, had there been no Danish colonisation. But this event turned the scale against Celtic, besides imposing a number of words foreign to other parts of England. The present dialect—namely, English mixed with archaisms and provincialisms—began to form itself much earlier than is supposed, and the slowness of its progress can only be accounted for by the closeness of the little communities in which the older dialect was spoken. It is probable the dales were to a great extent exclusively colonised by the Danes, and it is in those parts the provincial peculiarities of the dialect are especially to be found.

Angles and Saxons, though without means of preserving their share of the dialect, enjoyed the advantage of speaking the same language with their kinsmen of the rest of the island. It is not surprising, therefore, that even the number of Danish words now forms but a small proportion of the list that makes out the glossary. Nevertheless archaisms exclusively Angle are perhaps more difficult to point out than Celtic, as all such were most likely to merge in the modern dialect.

ANGLE WORDS :

HADDER (G. *hader*, a quarrel, D. *had*, hate, spite), to drizzle. "It's a haddery day." "It keeps haddering and raining." It has been observed by a correspondent of the *Kendal Mercury* that this word is in common use about Orton and Shap, but not at all in the south of Westmorland. It is also used in the north of Cumberland. Its provincial use is difficult to be accounted for; a number of words allied to the above, exist in the Gothic dialects, but all signifying hatred, etc. Probably in the connexion of the words *spite* and *spit* we have an explanation of the manner in

which it arrived at its Cumbrian application. From the localities in which it is found, there can scarcely be a doubt of its Angle origin. It is the Scotch *huther*, which Jamieson supposes to be the Islandic *hiufrar*, but from this it could not *come*. Jamieson has also *huttit*, hated, and *hutherin*, ugly (hateful?)

TANSY (G. *tanz*, a dance, D. *dands*, a dance), a "merry night," or public-house annual benefit ball. It is not in general use; but belongs to the Borders, and amongst other places, to the neighbourhood of Hesket.

WEALD (G. *wald*, a forest, from obs. *val*, a hill, cf. G. *wallen*, to undulate), anciently forest land, now more generally land cleared of forest. A tract of land on the east border of Westmorland. Prov. *wold*. The harvest labourers from the Weald of Sussex are called "wildish men" in the neighbouring counties.

WELSH (G. *wälsch*, strange, foreign), insipid. "Wuntry (D. *vanтро*) waerch," incredibly welsh or insipid, gives the Dano-English form of this word. Welshman, the general name at one time amongst the German tribes for a foreigner; Wales, Wallachia, *Wälschland* (Italy) are all of this origin. It has the same derivation as the last word, *val*, a hill, *wald*, a forest. Cf. G. *waller*, a traveller, and It. *forestiero* (a forester), a stranger. The Whale of Westmorland was the name given by the Angles of Helton to the "foreigners" on the other side the Lowther. Cf. Wales, also a gentile name.

YAUD (E. jade, an old horse), a horse. The Grey Yauds, the grey horses, a stone circle near Cumwhitton.

The Angle words here selected are given as remarkable in themselves, and as supporting what has been said of the localities originally colonised by the invaders from beyond the Pennine. There are many more, but the difficulty of discriminating between the dialects, forbids their introduction within the present limits.

NORSE WORDS

are not so easily pointed out as may be supposed. Very considerable changes have taken place in the Scandinavian dialects since

the colonisation of Cumbria, and the present distinctions between Norse and Danish cannot be much relied on for etymological purposes. There are several that may be classed under this head, and the following are given as best illustrative of the argument:

BOTCHY (N. *bokki*, a stiffnecked man, a he-goat), a short, stiff man. Probably E. buck, a beau.

BISEN (N. *bysn*, a warning), an example in a bad sense. "Thou'll be a shem and a bysen to a' th' parish." Erroneously supposed to be E. by-saying. The derivation of *bysn* is clearly from *by*, a town; and it is probably an apocopated form of D. *bysnak*, a town's talk (D. *snak*, talk). Cf. Russ. *znak*, a sign.

DRAFF (N. *draf*, pig's food), grains from the brewery.

DURDOM (N. *dyradomr*, a door-doom), an uproar or loud noise, a noisy scolding. "What a durdom!" said an old woman when she first saw a railway train in motion. This origin has been suggested in a recent work:* "We have a curious record of one of the judicial proceedings of the Northmen in our word 'durdem,' or 'durdom,' common also to some part of Yorkshire. I take this word to be from Old Norse *dyradomr*, thus explained by Mallet: 'In the early part of the (Icelandic) commonwealth, when a man was suspected of theft, a kind of tribunal composed of twelve persons named by him, and twelve by the person whose goods had been stolen, was instituted before the door of his dwelling, and hence called a door-doom; but as this manner of proceeding generally ended in bloodshed, it was abolished.'"

HIRPLE, to limp or walk lame, the prov. form of E. cripple.

KIPPERED (N. *kipra*, to shrivel, *kippr*, delay), partially preserved by artificial drying. Kippered herrings are still sold in summer, being partially saved by a chemical application.

CHARACTERISTIC WORDS:

AMACKILY, in some fashion. *Mack* (make), a kind; *a' macks*, all kinds; thence *a' macki-like*, in all ways, or in some way.

* The Northmen in Cumberland and Westmorland, by R. Ferguson.

ANGNAIL (Old High G. *ungnagle*, Lat. *unguis*), a nail that grows into the flesh. *Nagnail* (D. *nage*, to bite), is synonymous. *Nangnail* seems to have arisen euphonically from both.

ARLES (Goth. *arnaba*, certainly, D. *ärlig*, faithful), the earnest given to servants when hired. Radically identical with E. earnest, but probably proceeds immediately from H. C. *iärlas*, earnest.

BENSEL (Goth. *bania*, a blow, a wound), to beat, a blow. It has gone through two derivations, adjective and verb. Cf. E. bane, destruction.

BOOTED (D. *baade*, gain, profit), booted bread, mixed with inferior flour. Cf. E. boot, addition made to an exchange.

DAL (H. C. *diabhul*, the devil)! a common exclamation.

DARRICK (D. *dyrke*, to till), a day's work.

DONNET (D. *due*, to be of use), *dow-nout*, the devil, a worthless person. Lancashire phrase: "He called me everything that's nout," that is, all sorts of names.

DOW (D. *due*, to be of use), "nought at dow," nothing that is of any use.

FEUTLETH (D. *fodled*, a joint of the foot), four pounds of butter,* a "feutleth of salt." Now obs. This word can have no other origin, and must once have been a measure.

FEW (G. *fügen*, to join, dispose, *fügen sich*, to betake one's self to, A. S. *fegan*, D. *föie sammen*, to put together), to attempt, to arrange. "He fews badly," he gives no promise. "I'll few it for you," arrange it so that you will be able to get on, said to persons who are unskilful at their work.

GEESY (D. *gris*), a pig, used in calling. "Geesy pig" is in common use, like pussy cat. "A swine" is the modern name for a pig.

GEORDIE (E. George), pr. *Jwordie*, little George, brown bread made of rye and barley. Dim. like the Lancashire *jannock*, little John, bread made of soured oat meal.

LAN! an exclamation expressive of great astonishment or surprise. What the lan! "Lan! hinny, but thou hes mead a sessions o'

* Cumberland and Westmorland Dialects, Russell Smith.

theesel!" Probably a curious transformation of lord into *land*, after the loss of the *r*. Cf. my lud, still used to judges of assize.

LUMP (G. *lumpen*, a rag) a piece (of cloth).

MAN-KEEN (mad kine), furious animals, generally applied to bulls and horses, and in such a way as to make it seem as if provincially understood to mean "keen (desirous) of man."

OWNED (D. *aand*, a spirit), spirited, fated, destined. It has its origin in the belief of a spirit appearing before a person's death, as that of the fetch, banshee, etc.

ROTTEN MAD (E. ranting mad), very mad. "Great rot," great rant.

SAUNTER (G. *sinnen*, A. S. *sinnan*, to think), a tradition, that is, something called up from the memory. From this comes *sonn*, to meditate.

SNEEVIL (E. snivel, D. *snive*, the mucus of the nose), a snail. "Driving sneevils," said of boys who loiter.

TAGGY-BELL (D. *täkke*, to cover), the curfew or eight o'clock bell, still rung at Penrith and Kirkby Stephen. Cf. Fr. *couvre-feu*, cover-fire, the Norman curfew. *Taggy* has been used in modern times to frighten children; if out after eight o'clock, "Taggy would get them."

THEW (N. *thia*, to tire), to labour hard, to tire.

TITE (N. *teitr*, glad), gladly. "I'd as tite have a glass o' rum as a pint o' yell." Comparative *titter*.

WADITTER, wad (lead)-eater, india-rubber.

WELKIN (A. S. *wolcen*, the sky, G. *wolken*, clouds), "the door was welkin wide open"—open as the sky.

There are many words, besides the above, deserving of note, some of which have been curiously misunderstood as to their origin, whilst others have assumed an independent meaning that cannot be accounted for from any of the allied languages. The following are a selection, and may be called

REMARKABLE WORDS:

ARVAL (D. *arv*, an inheritance, *arvelig*, hereditary), a funeral, properly the bread and ale distributed as refreshment to persons

attending a funeral. There appears to be some superstition connected with the origin of this word, as if of a bequest from the deceased to ward off the danger of evil grudges.

BAGGIN (D. *bage*, to bake), food, in Lancashire properly restricted to the tea, or four o'clock meal. The hot cake baked for tea in these counties, is called a "singing hinny," and generally in the north there is no tea (considered as deserving the name) without cakes baked expressly.

BANDYLAN, banned the land, an outcast, an opprobrious epithet applied to a woman.

BLAINED (D. *blegne*, to turn white), half-dried (linen).

BLAKE (D. *bleg*, pale), yellow, "blake butter."

BRIDEWAIN (D. *vane*, a custom), the custom of contributing at a wedding money, furniture, etc. to assist the new-married couple at their outset in life; the wedding at which such contributions were made; any piece of furniture, etc. contributed at the wedding. Erroneously interpreted into bride-waggon.

CADE (D. *kaade*, wanton) a pet (lamb). *Cowdy*, of indelicate meaning, is from the same origin.

CAP (D. *kappe*, to cut short), to beat, to excel. "That caps me." "That caps a' print." Scotch, "to cap the water," to stop it at its source.

COPE (N. *kaupa*, to purchase), to exchange. Horse-coupers, well known on the Borders, persons who trafficked in old, worthless horses.

CRANKY (N. *krankr*, G. *krank*, sick, distempered), chequered, "cranky neck-cleath." It is also the name of a particular kind of stuff formerly manufactured, woven irregularly of various colours, and used for chair-covers, etc.

CROWDIE (Lat. *crudus*, E. crude), a mess of raw oatmeal mixed with hot water, also in Scotland with cold water.

GULLY (Lat. *gula*, Fr. *goulet*, E. gullet), a particular kind of knife strong and pointed, used for cutting brown bread, and for rough work generally. Properly, the butcher's or slaughtering knife.

HARDEN-CLOTH (D. *hör*, flax), the coarse cloth used in wrapping

bales. The Cumberland clergyman of former times received as part of his remuneration a "sark of harden cloth."

HEMPTON (Old E. *hempton*, made of hemp, a "hemton halter"), a succession of fairs, principally for horses, held at Carlisle between the first of October and Martinmas. It has been thought these fairs were so called because corresponding to certain Hampton fairs in the south, but probably without foundation.

INGLE (H. C. *aingeal*, fire, Corn. *engil*; Swed. *ugn*, D. *ofn*, a stove), the fire. "An ingle of sticks," a bundle of sticks.

KELD (N. *kelda*, a marsh), a phenomenon observed on lakes and rivers, described as a still place that has the appearance of oil poured on the water. The oily appearance is common enough on the pools of marshes.

KURNWINNING (D. *korn*, corn, *vinde*, to get), the harvest home, or feast at the close of harvest. Misinterpreted into *churnwinding*, which gave rise to the custom of having cream at the kurn supper. Applied generally in some northern counties to the feast at the close of any kind of husbandry, as the turnip-kurn.

LOCK, a small quantity or number, a lock of meal, a lock of folk, etc.

PICKS (D. *pig*, a point), the diamonds of cards.

SONSY (D. *sands*, sense), good-looking, jolly. "Tamar's a sonsy lass." "Ay, and a sonsy weight too." The distinction between the two uses of the word, is that of sensual and sensible.

THRANG (D. *trang*, pressed upon), busy.

WHITTLE (E. *victual*), a dinner, or pocket-knife, once the general instrument for all purposes. The whittlegait of the Cumberland clergyman a century ago, one part of his remuneration, was the liberty of using his whittle at his parishioners' tables in rotation. The Sheffield whittle was famous in the time of Chaucer. Cf. *gully*. "We haven't a stick to whittle"—to cut up for amusement.—*Sam Slick*.

LANCASHIRE WORDS

not found generally in the district are yet used to some extent in the south of Westmorland. The following are the principal:

CLAM (D. *klemme*, G. *klemmen*, to pinch), to starve, or suffer hunger.

GRADELY (Fr. *grade*, a degree), regular, applied to anything by way of approval: "gradely bread," "gradely weather," a "gradely soft un," etc.

MOIDER, to tease, to bother. Probably allied to bother, H. C. *bodhar*, deaf.

OSS (Fr. *essayer*, to try), to make an attempt, to try, to offer to do. "He wur hawsin to shoot summut," said of a statue. Welsh *osianw*. The Welsh language had no means of forming this word. Cf. Lancashire *wag*, to play truant, Lat. *vago*, I wander, vagabondize.

SHIPPEN (G. *schuppen*, a coach-house, a shed), a cow-house.

WELLY (H. C. *wile*, all), almost, *all-like*. Cf. G. *misslich* (miss-like), doubtful. "Like" is of frequent use in Lancashire: "What did he say like?"

FOREIGN WORDS :

CLASH (H. C. *cleas*, play, Fr. *clas*, to toll a bell, E. clash), to gossip.—G. *klatsche*, a gossip.

FASH (Fr. *fâcher*, to vex), to trouble.

FETTL (Fr. *fait*, It. *fatto*, a thing done), to repair.

FRATCH (H. C. *freagair*, to answer, Fr. *fracas*, a noise), to scold.

JALOOSE (Fr. *jalouse*, jealous), to suspect.

LISH (It. *lesto*, Fr. *leste*, nimble), active.

RADGE (Fr. *rage*, madness), mad. "A radge man."

MODERN CORRUPTIONS

of the forms of words are not very numerous, and are in most cases easily recognised. *Allyblaster*, *Architaker* (as if a taker of arches) are known at once to be alabaster, and architect. *Grandidier* and *speckets* present no difficulty. *Scumfished* (stifled), and *shed* (excel) are in all probability discomfitted, exceed. *Powsowdie* and *scrow-*

molly, if from posset and scramble, as the meanings seem to say, are very remarkable metamorphoses. *Mense* appears to be E. amends, and is much used in very nearly that sense. "What will be my mense?" or recompense. It likewise bears the signification of good manners, which is easily derivable from amends. The change of form is not more remarkable than *pode* for uphold. *Shilly-my-gig*, the Irish Sheela-ni-gig (Cecilia O'Gig), a mythic person of not very reputable name, deserves mention, though not in common use, as well as *Hash-Wednesday*, the false pronunciation of which has produced the custom of celebrating the day by having a *hash* for dinner.

When the foreign element is not altered in form, it very frequently is in sense,—a phenomenon chiefly owing to the peculiar character of English, which consists so largely of unintelligible words from remote sources. "Lang-nebbed," or dictionary words are not very tenderly dealt with in any of the provincial dialects, but besides these we have many of a simpler kind curiously tortured from their proper meanings. *Gay* is used in many senses on which it has no claim: "it's a gay way"—considerable way—"he's a gay decent chap." *Banish* stands for simple forbidding, or sending away,—“He banished the nephew”—sent him out of the house. *Fearful* loses its terrors, and becomes very, or even a term of general approval: "a fearful body" is a person whose activity and address are commendable. *Gather* signifies the taking of anything up and away: an old woman looking for her cat, was afraid somebody had "gathered it up." In small tenements of two apartments, the inner or bedroom is styled the *parlour*; the outer or living apartment is the *house*. The writer once had occasion to call at the house of a man whom he wanted to see, and was informed that he hadn't *landed*, that is to say, reached home; and when he did "land," the cause of delay proved to be that he had *lamed* his eye.

The tourist of the Penny Magazine some years ago, remarked the extraordinary application of words properly foreign to the Westmorland dialect, and tells an anecdote of two men who had been at a fair, one of whom said in high approval, "It was a most

serious, grand sheep indeed!" *Superannuated* is used in a more general sense than the English language warrants, imbecility of mind, whether proceeding from age or other causes, being its nearest equivalent. "He is quite superannuated" perhaps means that he has been leading so irregular a life that he is no longer fit for business. *Answering*—the sense in which this is used can hardly be described: "answering this time last week,"—at the corresponding time, "answering he comes"—provided he comes. *Pistol*—"Thou'rt a bonny pistol" is anything but praise. "They *disease* me t'gang," so said an old woman whom her friends were urging to emigrate to America. *Disannul* is a favourite word, and besides other meanings, has that of disperse. "There had been some difference of opinion between a leading man in a certain parish and the other parishioners, and one of the latter, in speaking of the difference, said, 'Me and two mair ev our toonsfolk were just talkin it ower amang oorsels, when he cum up til us, as doncen mad as a steg on a het backstan, en twotally disannul't us.' "*"

Liberties of various kinds have likewise been taken with proper names, principally, however, in regard to pronunciation. *Joany* (Johnny) is the familiar appellation for a farm-servant: "the Joanies" are not generally considered an enlightened class, hence "a Joany" carries with it half the meaning of simpleton. *Joan Ha'*, whatever has been its origin, completes this sense, and a "regular Joan Ha'," in other words, one who is so by name as well as by nature—what can be expected from such a person? The provincial pronunciations furnish many instances worthy of note; the following are some of the most remarkable:—Grisenthwaite is converted into *Grislefoot*, Bradshaw into *Bradget*, and Stockdale into *Stoggles*. Ferguson is contracted into *Fargie*—"the Fargie folk," the whole family of the Fargies and all their family connexions—and Kirkbride is reduced to *Kirky*. Kirkoswald invariably receives the pronunciation *Kirkuzld*, and Longwathby that of *Langaby*. Carlisle is contracted to *Carl*, and Ravenstonedale

* Rev. J. Simpson at the Kendal Natural History Society.

to *Russondale*. Alterations of this class must be considered late, seeing that they have not affected the orthography. They are, therefore, not destined to endure, and in all such cases the old form of the word will be restored from the written language.

The peculiar vocabulary of the Cumbrian dialect cannot be of much longer duration. Even now the rising generation, as far as it has been to school, begins to be ashamed of it; and many words have become obsolete in the memory of persons living. There is no doubt that with a little more extension of education, the dialect will become one of the things of the past. Yet a considerable portion of the people will continue for some time, with respect to the dialect, bilinguals. Many persons have daily occasion to speak of a "ladder" to one class of people, and of a *stee* to another. Thus the dialect begins to resemble Homer's language of the gods. At the same time there is to be lamented an unwillingness to communicate on the subject, and an anxiety as much as possible to avoid Cumbrianisms. In such cases an angry or earnest temper is most favourable for bringing out the dialect, and it is this that children are most disposed to obey. A country lady was sending out a boy and girl to exercise on the same pony, and ordered the former to "get up behind." This arrangement seemed to be objectionable, for they left the gate, and two or three repetitions did not induce obedience. "Get on ahint" followed in a more peremptory tone, and produced immediate compliance.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GRAMMAR AND IDIOMATIC PHRASES.

WE have as yet no means of forming an estimate of what the grammatical laws of a mixed people should be. It is certain they are not dependent on the state of the vocabulary. Foreign words may be imported into a language, without the introduction of a single grammatical rule, as French and Latin into English, Arabic into Persian. On the other hand, the tendency of a mixed people to alter its language, is nowhere more visible than in the grammar, the abrasion of the most perfect state of flexion being an inevitable consequence of absorption. Particles and position of words take upon them the work of grammar, and the little flexion remaining appears only as a slender auxiliary to these. Cumbrian has had its changes; the ancient laws by which it was successively governed became gradually obsolete, English rules obtained an ascendancy, and left nothing but a stray phrase or idiom to tell of its former state.

Amongst the terminations in the names of places are some that could not be classed with the compounds in the glossaries. *In*, as in Newbiggin (D. *bygning*), the new building, Talkin, is a participial ending eq. E. *ing*. We have also the later form *ing* in Workington, Helsington, Killington, Harrington, though some cases of this kind may possibly contain D. *eng*, a meadow. The original form of this ending, it must be observed, was *ig*, and it has frequently been added without any appreciable change in the meaning. *En* and *on* frequently occur. They appear generally to be a plural termination, to the formation of which there is a marked tendency in the dialect,

as in Souden Fell (N. *saudr*, a sheep), Duddon, Marron, Knorren. The provincial *welkin* (G. *wolken*, the clouds) is a plural of this kind. It is probable we have also plurals in *er*, in the names Waver, Cocker, Allerby (D. *ell*, an alder), Askerton (D. *ask*, an ash), etc. The ending *et** remains to be mentioned, as in Hesket, Arthuret, Hackett, Fawcett (Forcett), etc. Sparkhead, near Ullswater, is popularly pronounced *Sparket*, and this throws light on some at least of the above names, most, if not all, being compositions or corruptions to which we have now no satisfactory clue.

The derivation of isolated words from the allied languages is attended with a difficulty which may be mentioned here. The E. knee (pr. *nee*) may be compared with N. *hnie*, and G. *knie*. From the latter, as well as from the etymology, we learn that the *k* of knee was once pronounced,—from the former that it was aspirated before it became mute. The comparison of the pronunciation and orthography of knee shows that the word passed through the Norse stage, but that it did so in England. We have a word of this kind amongst the names of places, namely, Knock, for which there is C. *cnoc*, or N. *hnukr*; but the same reasoning applies, and Knock must be Celtic, having passed through the Norse stage in Cumbria. *Hnukr* is clearly borrowed from the Celtic, the ending *oc* (*og*) being a Celtic diminutive, and the root probably *cen* (*cean*), the head. “Knuckle” is a double diminutive derived from knock.

* The *et* of Dunmallet I supposed in my former essay on this subject to be the Danish neuter article, affixed to a foreign (Celtic) word that was not quite intelligible; but any other explanation must be more satisfactory, as this is the only example we have of the kind. On the subject of the article with proper names, Rask (Old Norse Grammar) says: “The article is not used in composition with proper names, unless it be that the word was originally a common appellative which by custom has been used as a proper name, e. g. Vik-in, the fjord at Christiana in Norway, Logr-inn, Lake Mälär; but Danir, the Danes,” without an article. Very little consideration satisfies us of the truth of this; we can understand *the* bay, because it is the great bay, or the only bay of the district. The force of demonstratives has always been as it is now, notwithstanding that in modern times they are more frequently used. The supposed name L’Ulf, the wolf, from which Lynlph’s tower is believed to take its name, could never have arisen as the name of a baron. We can understand *the* bay among bays, and *the* wolf among wolves, but not *the* wolf among men.

The Celtic *cnoc*, notwithstanding its orthography, retains the accent on the root, and is pronounced in two syllables *cunnuc*. By the removal of the accent, the root sound has been lost in E. knock, and know. Our dialect stands opposed to English in the latter word, which it has as *ken*. Very great discrepancies are, however, observable in accent: C. *nae mair* has retained the correct accent and form; G. *nimmer* (*nie mehr*) altered the accent and with it the form. Late Cumbrian has likewise altered the forms of word in consequence of accent: we find *praps* for perhaps, *pode* for uphold, *mappen* for may happen.

The most characteristic affix of modern Cumbrian is *ment*, though it cannot be supposed ever to have been intelligible: it forms a kind of collective, as *dirtment*, *roughment*, a heap of dirty or rough things, and a kind of abstract, as *bitterment* (bitterness), *preachment*. Generally speaking, it carries with it a feeling of contempt. *Some* appears also in frequent use: *growsome* (D. *grue*, to dread), grim, *fewsome* (see *few*, page 84), are examples. The ending *y* is still used to form diminutives, etc.; in *sweeties* its plural is equivalent to "things." *Lin*, once very common, is no longer current. We find it in *gawrlin*, from *gawp* (*gorp*), *hawflin*, from half, a half-witted person, *kitlin*, a kitten. *Madlin*, a person of bad memory, *mafflin*, *mazelin*, a simpleton, may contain either *lin* or *in*, according as they are to be derived from *mad*, *maf*, *maze*, or from *maddle*, *maffle*, *mazle*. The former is the more probable. *Lin* is G. *ling*, which is scarcely distinguishable in meaning from *ing*. We have at least one example of *kin* (G. *chen*), used for contempt, in *maislikin*, and under the euphonic law of the German, namely, following a liquid. *Geslin* (gosling), which has the root vowel modified, is still in use.

Double, and apparently superfluous, derivations are common in Cumbrian, as they are in all languages. We have *satisfise* from satisfy, *spelder* (see page 75), *churchwardner*, from spell, churchwarden, and *belder* to bellow, from *beel*; and likewise many such words as *attackded*, *drownded*, which is simply a derivation from the participle, the same that modern languages have followed so extensively in making roots for themselves from Latin. Probably in this we have an explanation of the *d* in *belder* and *spelder*.

There are a few peculiarities to be noticed here: *fadge*, E. *fag*, which contrasts with *brig*, E. *bridge*. *Collership-hoos* (Borrowdale Letter) certainly contains E. *scholarship*, which has lost its initial, and from this we may perhaps connect *cowl*, to scrape the street, with D. *scovel*, a shovel. Changes of this kind must by no means be regarded as corruptions.

The dialect still retains the power—which English has lost—of forming an unlimited number of compounds: *stairfoot*, *townhead*, instead of foot of the stairs, etc. The accentuation of these words demands some explanation. English laws would require the accent on the first syllable, the language regarding both parts as uninflected; the Cumbrian dialect, on the other hand seems to look on the first part of the compound as a genitive case,—for which it has no sign,—and consequently places the accent on the second syllable. Grammarians may object, that the words are then not real compounds, but practically, in my opinion, they are so. Amongst the compounds appear a few remarkable assonances: *ham-sam*, *havey-scavey*, *hay-bay*, *kerley-merley*.

The strong pluralising tendency is not to be overlooked, neither in the local etymology, nor in the modern dialect. We find it in names as old as Helvellyn, the mountains of the lake, but plurals of this character are difficult to trace. The plural ending *er* is probably the oldest Gothic form—Birker fell (D. *birk*, a birch)—and as in German, was originally *e*, to which it assumed an *r*. This was followed by the plurals in *en*: Oxenholme (D. *oxe*). Older plurals, however, gave way to the modern English in *s*: the Scaws (D. *skov*, a wood), near Penrith, Ellers, Raynors. Most of the plurals thus used are, strictly speaking, unnecessary, and the linguistic purpose appears to be that of making the word indefinite. There are several similar instances of pluralising in the modern dialect: *outs* from ought—"Is there outs of folk?"—*all wayeses*, *wases me* (woe is me). The pl. *fuits*, *feets*, is also in use.

In rejecting the sign of the genitive, the dialect has gone a step beyond the English abolition of cases: thus for Harry's pump we have the odd-looking expression, *Harry pump*. But like all other dialects, though it cast off the old endings, it has not scrupled

to make for itself new flexion. "I send thee thisan;" and in fact *thisan* is one of the commonest words in use. The ending is not confined to the accusative; we find "What'n mannishment's this?" in which *what'n* is eq. "what kind." The Cockney dialect had something similar in *his'n*, but I think only when used substantively, whilst Cumbrian has it both in substantive and adjective use. In all probability it is an agglutination of the Danish article *en*, which is always postfixed. *This'n*, *what'n*, would thus be eq. the *this*, the *what**. There is a remarkable vocative case found in one word, *min* from *man*, which is used equally to boys, horses, or anything, addressed authoritatively. Another singular piece of flexion remains in the comparative *nearther*, apparently formed on the model of E. farther. The latter, however, is not derived from *far*, but from the positive *forth*, and *near* is already a comparative (cf. *nigh*.) The C. *nearther* is pronounced very nearly as if it were *nigherther*. The indefinite article and the numeral one are furnished with a connecting link in Cumbrian usage: two boys say to each other, "Aw've just *ya* hawpenny left," "And aw've just *yan*." This is a mid-sense, and shows the difference between the adjective and substantive forms.

The pronouns of address have their peculiarities in Cumbrian as in almost all dialects. *Ye*, which has supplanted the other cases, is now the pronoun of respect, and *thou* betokens familiarity or contempt. The latter is the pronoun always used between friends, and singularly enough is that which is heard in "fratching." The use of *thou* in Lancashire, if applied improperly, is highly resented, but there is no such strong feeling on the matter in this district. The third person *he* and *she*, is likewise used in address, but, as far as I am aware, only to children: "What is *he* doin, hinny?" With this we may compare the Italian usage: *thou* between persons on a perfect footing of equality, *you* where a certain amount of distance has to be maintained, and *she* (or rather *her*) as the highest mark of respect.

* The Lat. *Caiu-s es-t stultu-s*—*s* and *t* being the fundamental characteristics of the Sans. pronouns *sa* and *ta*—is eq. Caiu—that be-he stupid—that.

The "grammatical inaccuracies" of the dialect appear to shock strangers and persons unaccustomed to reflect on such matters. The verbs, and especially the verb "to be," as may be supposed, are the greatest stumbling-block. Considerable diversity, however, exists in connexion with verbal flexion, every person doubtless correcting the general usage according to his knowledge of English. As it is difficult therefore at present to say precisely what the flexion of the verbs is, the following examples are given chiefly from the Borrowdale Letter: verb *to be*—"Sea nags *is* as rank in Dublin beck, as if thou *was* lynkin at ten thousand geese in a gutter," "*I'se* as thin as lantern leets," "I whop *I'se* git strang agyan or it be lang," *I'se* plague ye sair wi it;" plural—"They *hes* hed," "They swallow land nags as hens *dus* big," "The Parlemen-hoos, whore gentlemen *gangs* to bate yan anudder," "When they'r starvt amyast, and *gits* lile milk;" first person—"I *maks* mysel easy," "I *cares* lile;" second person—"Thou *knows*," "If thou *so* me now." From these examples it appears that the third person singular has been taken as the essential part of the verb, and suffered to supplant the other persons of the singular, and the third person plural. The English verb principally differs from the Cumbrian in having preserved the flexion of the second person singular, but it must be observed that in later times it has suffered this person to become altogether obsolete. *I'se* appears above instead *I shall*, an auxiliary of late introduction into English. *I'se* becomes *I is* when emphatic.

There are several other peculiarities in the verbs deserving of remark. *Du* and *duv* (do) interchange, and there appears to be some confusion in the usage: "And sea *duv* I," "Nay, I *duvn't*." Possibly the usage varies in different localities, but that such was the origin of the distinction I am unable to say. *Du* I should suppose properly used before consonants, *duv* before vowels. For we also find "Stick *tuv* it," "*tuv* an at yon Dublin." The past of *du* is *dud*. The verbs *mun* and *mud* are somewhat curious: *aw mun du*, *aw mud a duin*, the former expressing the strong obligatory sense of E. must, the latter a mid-sense between E. might and must. An attempt appears to have been made to remove the

anomalies of the English formation of verbs, by carrying them back to the old strong system in E. begin, began, G. *binde*, *band*. Thus we find *hit*, *hat*—"he hat him"—*git*, *gat* (get, got), and some others; but besides this a modernising of old participles, as in "Is he *comt*?"

The idiomatic syntax and phraseology are especially rich for the philologist, but nothing more can be attempted here than an enumeration of the principal points. There is a strange combination in use with the verb *can*, exemplified in the following: "He won't can lend you," "I wadn't could see." Anderson has this remarkable idiom: "She yence cud ha' crammeled, and writ her awn neame," meaning she once could have written her own name crammelingly (scrawlingly). "Whea's aw this?" is a phrase most difficult to understand, but probably contains an inversion to which the English language is not familiar. It is not unusual to hear in some dialects, "Whae belongs this?" that is, instead of saying, "To whom does the hat belong?" they use the inversion, "Who belongs to the hat?" And this is the interpretation, as I understand it, of the above: "Whea's aw (owe to) this?" signifying, "Who belongs to this?" with *aw* used in the Old English sense. "He may sit his lone (alone)" is a Celtic idiom, but perhaps not exclusively so. The indefinite use of the word *kind*, that is, to reduce the sense, is very nearly the same as in America: "Aw kind o' com to mysel agean," partly came to myself. The word *bit* is used to form diminutives: "a bit lad," "a bit thing." "A few broth" is an idiom not confined to this district, its peculiarity lying in the word *few*, not in any idea of divisibility in the broth, as might seem at first sight; for we also find "a good few," that is, a good many. "What's the matter?" is a singular periphrasis for *why*: "What's the matter thou hes nea hat on?"

Such names as Kirkoswald, Kirkby Stephen, the church of Oswald, the church town of Stephen, involve in their composition a remarkable point of grammar (government), in accordance with Celtic, and opposed diametrically to Gothic. All Hiberno-Celtic compounds are formed according to this law, that the first word governs the second in the genitive. Londonderry (the London of

Derry county) has been formed like the above, and the accentuation on the second part of the compounds, shows that the inventors understood clearly what they were about. We may compare with these the old Cornish Lanstuphadon. Eamont could not mean, as has been supposed, the water of the mountain, for the reason just given; and in Mounsey we find the form in which a name of this signification would appear.

Some peculiar ellipses occur: "He's gettin into my pocket," that is, getting his hand into it. "And I efter it"—an ellipsis of the verb *to go*, which next to the verb *to be* seems most easily dispensed with in language. We may compare the provincial phrase, "Away with him, and I after him"—away he went with himself (carried himself), and I went after him. "Twea three mair," two or three more, has an ellipsis of the conjunction, and is identical with the Lancashire "tuthri moor."

The following phrases do not need much explanation or comment: "The folks will a' be which to be thrangest." "Titter up co tother," the earlier up shall call the other, contains the D. *tidt*, early, in the comparative degree. "Titter it's dune an better," the the sooner it's done the better. "He put tay fout intot tayn, an tudder intot tudder." "A rank pay (D. *rank*, upright)" "It caps Langcroon!" an imaginary person with a crown (head) so long that he was equal to all reasonable difficulties. "What sic creeturs they are," what kind of creatures, contains a remarkable use of *such*. "Thou couldn't tell me be a frosk," from a frog, in which *be* is eq. E. beside. "Through amang fwok, and owr fwok." "To sit ith hoos," to stay at home. "Gaw bun!" one of the most frequently used exclamatory phrases—the D. *gaa*, *bonde*, go, clown, and so indefinitely applied that we even find, "Gaw bun light on em!" "What the hangman!"—the German *Was zum henker!* "Wiah than!" "sea than!" are exclamations very common in ordinary conversation, but "and seya (and so)" must be heard in a "fratch," if it is to be heard to perfection.

CHAPTER V.

THE LITERATURE.

It has already been observed, that in the dialect of the different parts of these counties great diversity exists. Considering the varying elements of the population, we are not to be surprised at such discrepancies; for it is decidedly in the original colonisations that the foundation of the dialect is laid, however it may be subsequently modified by circumstances. Many words and idioms used in some localities of Cumbria are unknown in others, but in the pronunciations of the same words, the distinctions are most obvious.

The north of Cumberland has in use the word *lile* (little); in the neighbourhood of Penrith this is pronounced *laal*; the dales shorten the latter somewhat, as if it were *lal*; the Borrowdale Letter (Eamont Bridge) has got *lile*, which we also find in the south of Westmorland; in Lancaster it is *loil*, but in the south of Lancashire it disappears, and is replaced by *little*. Again, the word *sic* (such) of Cumberland, and the south of Westmorland, is *sitch* in many parts of the latter, as well as in Lancashire.*

* The dialect of Penrith and the immediate neighbourhood affords a good average specimen of what is spoken in the two counties, and contains a certain degree of refinement, without sacrificing much of the provincial character. This is no more than might have been expected from its central position. The dialects of the "fellsides" (Pennine), and Keswick, do not differ materially from that of Penrith.

These differences have had considerable effect on the literature, and in the absence of a recognised system of orthography, have aided in confining it within narrow limits. There is no doubt the less intelligible is a provincial production, the less it will obtain general currency. For instance, a Devonshire song will be read by a person indifferent to all the dialects, when a Cumbrian production will be thrown aside.

But if these reasons can be given why the literature has not had a very brilliant existence in the past, they show it to be the better worthy of future preservation. The writer always endeavours to give faithfully the dialect as he has heard and spoken it in his own neighbourhood, and the birthplace of the author is as it were the key to the peculiarities of his orthography. Cumberland and Westmorland have been fortunate beyond any other district in England, in the quality and extent of their provincial productions. This pre-eminence is certainly to be attributed in part to the poetic genius of the writers. And it is a curious fact that the vernacular publications of Cumberland are all poetical, and in imitation of the successful Burns of Scotland, whilst the principal literary productions of Westmorland are in prose, and have been written in rivalry of the Lancashire *Tim Bobbin*. This observation is not made in detraction of our Cumbrian literature; it cannot diminish its value from a linguistic point of view, and will not surprise those who have made any study of the course of literature in general.

The oldest publication in the dialect of which we have any mention, is entitled, "*A bran new Wark by William de Worfat, containing a true Calendar of his thoughts concerning good nebbberhood.*" It appeared in Kendal, 1785. It is a good specimen of the Westmorland dialect, says Halliwell, but is of great rarity. Besides this, the principal productions of Westmorland are the dialogues of Mrs. Wheeler, which belongs to the Lancashire border, and the *Borrowdale Letter*, by Isaac Ritson, a native of Eamont Bridge (Penrith). The Cumberland authors almost exclusively belong to the northern part of the county, and, as remarked before, are all poets. The names of the Rev. J. Relph, Ewan Clark, John Stegg, Mark Lonsdale, Robert Anderson, Miss Blamire, Miss Gilpin,

and John Rayson, furnish a respectable list of authors, and make out what may be styled the Augustan era of Cumbrian literature. Very remarkable is the dearth of poetic talent in Westmorland, as far as the vernacular is concerned, for there appears to be nothing of any celebrity, with the exception of the well-known lines on Eighty-eight, the author of which is, and unfortunately must remain, anonymous. Other minor productions there may have been, but they are now forgotten; and of these one only has come to my knowledge, namely, a "Pastoral Dialogue," by Charles Graham, printed at Penrith, 1778. Graham was, I understand, a native of Eamont Bridge, and therefore another Westmorland poet.

During Anderson's life two editions of his Cumberland Ballads were printed, but after his death a much larger collection than either, including one hundred and thirty new pieces from manuscript, appeared from under the hands of William Robinson, a Wigton publisher. In this volume are printed a limited number of John Rayson's ballads, and two or three by other poets of Cumberland.

The "Westmorland and Cumberland Dialects," published by Russell Smith, London, is the principal collection that has yet appeared in connexion with these counties, and now affords the chief means of study accessible to any curious linguist. It includes the best published compositions of all the authors above-named, with biographical notices; and to it must be referred any person desirous of following up this part of the subject further. The glossary appended to this volume is unusually full, all previous glossaries, and some manuscript collections of words, having been laid under contribution. But it is in the rudest state, and the few etymological attempts made or adopted by the editor, are failures.

Independent of claims as illustrative of the provincial idiom, many of the songs and ballads of the Cumbrian authors are, on their own merits, deserving of praise. The descriptions of local manners, customs, and modes of thought—what best represent the life of the people—preserved in these productions, for vivid

truthfulness cannot be surpassed. That they have received so little patronage is to be regretted, but I must repeat, one principal cause of the neglect is the strangeness of the dialect even to the natives of the county. Avowed imitators and rivals of Burns, it is generally acknowledged that of the Cumbrian poets Robert Anderson most nearly attained his aim, and was most successful in bringing out to advantage the local dialect and the manners of the people.* All, however, with one exception—John Rayson—have now shuffled off this mortal coil; even the dialect is passing away, and the next generation, should it ever find time to leave the dull tracks of prose, will have to woo the muse in another language.

* It is only right to say that Mr. Rayson, the last of the Cumbrian bards, labours under the disadvantage of never having published separately any but earlier pieces. The latest and best effusions of his muse have as yet only appeared in a fugitive form; and certainly Cumberland would do itself justice rather than its poet, in bringing out for him a last and complete edition containing his matured and corrected productions.

PART III.

SUPERSTITIONS AND CUSTOMS.

“EIN dreifaches Räthsel ist der Menschheit zur Auflösung vorgelegt worden: * * * Mit heisser, unermüdlicher Arbeit haben die Völker sich an diese Aufgabe gemacht, Vieles haben sie erforscht und mit dem Wachsthume ihrer Erkenntniss hat sich ihre Bewunderung vermehrt—aber gelös't haben sie jene Räthsel nicht.”

Dr. KRAFT.

A three-fold enigma has been proposed to mankind for solution :
* * * With ardent, untiring toil have the nations betaken themselves to this problem; much have they investigated, and with the growth of their knowledge their astonishment has increased—but they have not solved the enigma.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

RELIGIOUS propagation has taken its course from the East westwards into Europe. In the south, that is, with respect to the Greek-Latin branch, the stream for a time seems to have flowed in the contrary direction, but as far as concerns the peoples in whom we are immediately interested, there has been no retro-active influence.

Common to all the Indo-European races was a simple form of fireworship, which belonged to the stock before its separation. But subsequently each branch, under a distinct influence, developed in its own peculiar way its religious forms, so that Celts and Goths, when we meet them in Europe, show a broad line of demarcation, and types of belief, the individuality of which cannot be mistaken. The religious culture of the Celts may be said to have been *astralian*, whilst that of the Goths was *tellurian* and mythological. Our information on this subject is imperfect, but there is sufficient to prove that the Celtic and Gothic religions, having been separated by a wide interval, again came in contact, and interlaced, so as to be considerably indebted to each other.

The Tatár and Iberian peoples, the contact of whom with the Indo-Europeans has been already pointed out, do not appear to have influenced much the Celtic religion. Taking what is known of the Iberians on this subject, and substituting for the original Tatars of western Europe, the Finns and Lapps of the north, and the Tungusians and Ostiaks of Asia, the points of resemblance or

identity with the Celts are not numerous. The Iberian influence was most probably of a limited character, and if anything were taken up from that source, it produced no abiding effect.

We are much better circumstanced respecting the religious belief of the Goths, for though we have little information on the old German religion, except what is learned from the Latin writers, the deficiency is well supplied from the records of Scandinavian mythology.* It is even of more immediate importance that we should have directly open to us the latter source, but we must not commit the mistake of supposing everything that finds its counterpart in the traditions of the north, to be exclusively Scandinavian.

National religions modify, without supplanting, each other to a surprising degree, though the influence is not always very apparent. So much is this the case, that the complete conversion of a people is rarely, if ever, accomplished. Fragments of old rites remain, and maintain themselves for centuries after their intention and use have been forgotten. The missionary may war against them as he will, and brand them as superstitions; they give way to no direct attack. Time alone frequently effects that in which religious zeal has failed; and under the guise of old customs they withdraw to remote nooks of the land, seeking out more primitive manners.

The phenomena of popular life called superstitions and customs, can therefore rarely be understood in connexion with the age in which we find them. What is now an unmeaning custom, the amusement of children, was once an impressive superstition, and in a still earlier time formed part of the national worship. Thus we can only hope to explain successfully an old custom, when we are successful in tracing it to its source.

It is probable, however, that all customs cannot be considered in the light of superstitions; many, indeed, bear the stamp of a purely social origin; and whether such were ever enforced by an authority

* The Eddas, commonly called Sámund's Edda and Snorra's Edda. The former, a collection of mythic and traditionary songs, dates its compilation from 1133; the latter, a prosaic abstract of the former, was composed in 1241, but was the first printed.

higher than that of necessity, depends on the nature of the religion with which they were connected. The whole social life of many peoples entered into the rules of their religious code, whilst others, even at a very early stage of culture, effected a separation between the religious and social laws.

It is always to be regretted when popular customs, whatever may have been their origin, are met with such direct opposition as to bring about their sudden extinction. Like the myrtle on the grave of Polydorus, they cannot be pulled up without groans and blood. The connexion between customs and popular manners needs scarcely be pointed out, and no custom survives the manners to which it is acclimatised. They vanish from amongst us rapidly enough. One change of manners strips the old rite of its religious character, and degrades it to a superstition; another change, and the superstition has become a custom, and that which was a custom has disappeared.

CHAPTER II.

FIREWORSHIP.

FIREWORSHIP, although the primitive rite of a great portion of the human family, is best known to us in connexion with the Persians, some remnants of whom have maintained their peculiar religion even to the latest times. Yet very little knowledge was obtained concerning the doctrines of the fireworshippers, until the remains of their sacred writings, under the name of the Zendavesta, were introduced into Europe in 1771. Since that time some real information on the Persian religious system has been spread abroad, and it has been shown to be the most elaborate ever conceived by the mind of man.

The exposition of doctrine which we find in the Zendavesta, only makes known to us the Persian system subsequent to its reformation under Zoroaster and his followers. But there is no doubt the primitive religion of the stock to which the Persians belonged, contained the germs of that belief nurtured into such magnificent life by the great Magus. Among the Indians (Hindoos), as well as with the Celts, fire was not merely a means of consuming or cooking the sacrifice, but had itself a sacred character. The principle of fire is declared by the Zendavesta to form the union between Ormuzd and the First Cause, but to be of too mystic a nature for man to explain. The sacred fire of the Celts maintained itself on the extreme verge of the West, even when Druidism existed no longer.

It is principally in its Zoroastrian development that the Persian religion contrasts with that of the other branches of the stock.

The *pure fire* was a primary requisite of worship in the former system—without it there was no sacrifice; and the priest who incautiously suffered it to be polluted by his breath, forfeited his life. To guard against such casualties one of the priestly robes, the *penom*, covered the lower part of the face, and extended over the nostrils. We find no trace of the pure-fire doctrine among the Celts; and the burning of sacrifices is sufficient proof that it was unknown to them. Animals were indeed slaughtered by the Persians, but this practice was adopted from the Indians, who were not allowed to eat of any flesh until it was offered to God. And we are informed by St. Patrick, in the narrative of his escape from Ireland, that he refused to appease his hunger by eating meats sacrificed to idols.

Especially we should suppose the priesthood to belong to the later period of the respective religions, yet the resemblance of the Magi, Brahmans, and Druids was sufficiently striking to be observed by the ancients. Pliny calls the Druids the Magi of the Gauls and Britons, and says, "*Britannia hodie eam (Magiam) attonitè celebrat, tantis cæremoniis ut eam Persis dedisse videri possit.*"

The religious rites of at least a large portion of the Celts were conducted with fireworship, on hills or rising grounds, such sites probably being chosen under the idea that they were nearer heaven. There is an Eastern tradition that the minister of an Indian king erected a lofty tower on a hill, in which to lodge his son, who was a spirit of heaven incarnate, thus, it was said, to bring him nearer to his proper sphere. But on the sacrifices we have no satisfactory information. It is generally assumed, from the Roman accounts, that they were human; but though these abominations—which were continued even at Rome down to the time of the Empire—were most probably practised by some of the Celtic tribes, to what extent they prevailed, or under what conditions they were used, are points on which we are almost in the dark. The same charge was made against the Persian fireworshippers by their mortal enemies the Arabs, and it need hardly be said, has never been substantiated.

Human sacrifices were perhaps altogether unknown in Cumbria.

The Celtic *aodh* (pr. *hu*), a synonyme for the sacred fire, and sheep, indicates at least the original nature of the sacrifice.* This word appears in Cumbrian names of places. Three miles south of Penrith, where the Lowther is crossed by the railway, is a steep cliff named Ewe's, or Hugh's crag, for the proper form of the word and its origin are equally unknown; and in other parts of Westmorland are several places called Ewebank. It is probable these were all sites of the fireworship, and take their names from *aodh*.

Welsh mythology—one of the least scrupulous of agencies—makes very prominent a personage styled Hu the mighty, the chief of their gods. His chariot was composed of the rays of the sun; the sacred oxen, one of his attributes, bellowed in the thunder, and glared in the lightning. There can scarcely be a doubt that the unaccountable Hu is the name of the sacred fire deified by the Cambro-Celts. The biblical history of Noah was transferred to Hu, and the oxen of Hu, which are still spoken of in Wales, were conferred on Dewi, first bishop of St. David's.† In short, the whole tissue of Welsh mythology is a most singular maze of error.

The Scandinavians, as they settled in England and Ireland, freely adopted the national rites and customs. Having been indoctrinated with the fireworship of the Celts, they continued it under the name of the Baaltine or Beltain,‡ a compound formed

* *Aodh* is the orthography into which E. Hugh is put in Irish; the pronunciation of both is therefore nearly identical. It appears to be the Celtic form of Fr. *feu*, and E. *ewe*. Cf. L. *ignis*, fire, *agnus*, a lamb (Sans. *agni*, fire). The Chinese character denoting a lamb is formed of *fire* and *sheep*.

† Mythology and Rites of the British Druids, by Edw. Davies.

‡ D. *baal*, a pile of wood, H. C. *teine*, fire. Cf. E. *bale-fire*. As there are yet many persons who cling to the imaginative derivation from the "god Baal or Bel" of the East, it may be as well to add a word or two, with the hope of converting those benighted idolaters. Baal belongs to the Syro-Phœnicians, whose primitive religion was a simple star-worship. Being pressed southwards by the Arians (Indo-Europeans), these people entered Egypt. That they freely adopted tenets and deities from both Persians and Egyptians is evident, but there is no trace of any reciprocation. The contact of the Syro-Phœnicians and Persians took place in Zoroastrian times, long before which the Celts had their worship of the sun. Why then adopt this word in connexion with their ancient worship? Can we suppose that the Phœnicians brought the name to Cornwall? The

from both languages. Several Cumbrian hills received their names from the sacrifice of the Beltain, of which they were the sites. Of these the highest is Hill Bell, the hill of the *baal*, or Beltain, in Westmorland; Bell Hill, near Drigg in Cumberland, confirms this etymology of the name. Besides these we have Bells and Green Bells in Westmorland, and Cat Bells, Derwentwater. Yevering Bell, Northumberland (see page 59), and Baal Hills on the Yorkshire moors, are further corroborative of the origin of the name, and the precise nature of the worship there practised. The Manks *Boaldyn*—beyond a doubt Beltain—now considered a synonyme for May, illustrates the manner in which this name has been misunderstood. In the Manks language *laa boaldyn* signifies May-day, and hence etymologists have supposed its origin to be *boal*, a wall, Irish *teine*, fire, from the custom of carrying fire round the walls and fences on the eve of this day.

Fireworship, or a commemoration thereof, can be traced to a late period at the four great festivals of the seasons. On the establishment of Christianity in Ireland, the care of the sacred fire was entrusted to St. Bridget and her society of nuns, and the eve of the first of February still witnesses a rude custom in connexion therewith. Candlemas day doubtless originated as an adaptation

supposed Baal worship is unknown in Cornwall, and the Beltain is confined to districts known to have been partly colonised by Scandinavians. The word *baal*, erroneously supposed to mean the sun, is always to be interpreted *dominus*. Thus, the Egyptian Seb, one of the Twelve, was adopted by the Phœnicians, and is called in Philo, Baal-Cheled, lord of time, the younger Kronos. In the passage, "We have forsaken our God, and also served Baalim" (Judges, 10 c.), the meaning is, We have joined in the worship of the native gods,—the Baalim being Baal-Berith, the god at the city of Berith, Baal-Peor, the god on the mountain of Peor, Baal-zebul, literally the god of flies, the symbol of destruction, etc.

The evidences of Baal worship in the British Isles are altogether imaginary, of which the famous Tory Hill monument (Ireland) is an instructive instance. The inscription thereon was read *Beli Diuose*, and considered a dedication to the god Baal or Dionusos. On this was raised the Phœnician theories of Vallancey and Wood. At length, through local enquiries, the true state of the case came out, and by turning the stone upside down, the "Pelasgian inscription" was found to be "E. Conic, 1731," the name of the man who cut it for his amusement.—See Trans. of the Kilkenny Archæ. Soc. 1851.

of the worship of this season; as did the Firebrand Sunday of Burgundy, and the more general observance of St. Blaze's day. The Beltain is generally understood to belong to the first of May, and in Scotland especially, where it was continued according to the old style. Lammas, or the first of August, has left fewer traces, but there is no doubt it was once celebrated with fireworship; whilst the observance of the first of November appears to have been more widely spread than any of the other seasons. The *teine Tlachdgha*, or fire of Tlachdgha, in Meath, was kindled on the latter day, when all other fires were extinguished, and a tax paid to the Druids for permission to rekindle them from the sacred fire.* The Hallowe'en Bleeze of Scotland was very generally observed, fires being made on all the rising grounds; the Autumnal fires of Wales were kindled on the same evening, and the Teanlay night of the Fylde of Lancashire is a part of the same observance.

The Midsummer rejoicings are most generally known under the name of bone-fires, being so called from the custom of burning bones on that night. These are the *bane-fyers* of Scotland, and in the Irish language they have a name of identical meaning. In all the country parts of England the Midsummer fires were continued to a late period, together with sports, which were kept up in some places till midnight, in others till cockcrow.† The old writer, Naogeorgus, 1570, tells us of bonfires in every town, of young men and maids dancing in every street. Stow speaks of several bone-fires in June and July, on the vigils of festivals, and of oil lamps being hung at the doors in London, on the eve of St. John. The famous Midsummer Watch of London was a part of these observances, and was continued both on the eve of St. Peter and of St. John to the reign of Edward the sixth. The same custom, we are informed, was observed in Nottingham, when "every inhabitant of any ability set forth a man." This was clearly keeping the vigil by proxy, and had nothing to do with the peace of the town.

* O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary.

† Sports and Pastimes of England, by Joseph Strutt.

According to the general opinion of the old writers, the bone-fires were intended to drive away dragons and evil spirits by their offensive smell. Stow thinks that a great fire purges the "infection of the air;" but another author declares that "dragons hate nothyng more than the stenche of brennyng bones." At Burford in Oxfordshire, it must be observed, a dragon was carried in procession on Midsummer-eve; but evidently the dragon superstition is a late addition to the fireworship. On the contrary, in the west of England the St. John's fire was called the Blessing Fire.

The bone-fires of Ireland, though they have declined much of late years, still form a general custom. They are lit on St. John's eve, new style, only, and are doubtless in connexion with the solstice, when the sun is about to attain his greatest height in the heavens. On the afternoon of that day, a deputation from the band who propose to officiate at the ceremony of the night, go round the neighbourhood to collect donations for the purchase of faggots, the ringleader, or Arch-druid, carrying in his hand the skull of a horse or other animal as a symbol of his priestly functions. With the larger bone-fires considerable pains are taken, the bones being regularly laid in; and if possible a tree is procured round which the faggots are placed. Leaping through the flame, with the face blackened, is now only regarded as a matter of amusement; and on retiring, each of the assembly is supposed to carry away a brand.

We are informed by Pennant (Tour in Scotland) that "till of late years the superstition of the Beltain was kept up in these parts (Cumberland), and in this rude sacrifice it was customary for the performers to bring with them boughs of the mountain ash." It seems probable that the February fires were likewise a custom of this district, for we have a Blaze Fell near Hesket, and another in Westmorland, as if so called from the saint of that name. The observances properly belonging to St. Bridget's eve were transferred in some parts to that of St. Blaze. Village wakes, when coming on or near the day of the periodical celebration, frequently appropriated to themselves the customs of the seasons. We are

told in Hutchinson (History of Cumberland), 1794, that the wake at Cumwhitton on the eve of St. John (Midsummer), was then kept with fires, dancing, etc. The writer calls it the "old Beltain," but this must be a mistake, as that name was restricted to the first of May.

The old Midsummer custom of the bone-fire is still observed at Melmerby, perhaps the only place in these counties at which this remnant of fireworship now lingers. At the alteration of the calendar in this country, Midsummer eve, old style, fell on the fourth of July, and this is still the time of observance at Melmerby. There is thus a singular retrogression of a day, but the cause of the change does not appear. The following day, until within two or three years since, was kept as the annual village festival. It was a holiday for a considerable extent of the fell-sides, and used to be attended by a great concourse of people. Preparations on a most extensive scale were made, partly for the accommodation of the general public, but still more for the private entertainment of friends. For several days previous to the feast, the village ovens were in continual daily and nightly requisition. Sports were held out of doors, and in every house there was merry-making, which never ended with the first day. To such a ruinous extent was the hospitality of the season carried, that many persons, it is said, felt its effects for the ensuing twelve months. But this re-union of friends, which was, however, already declining, has been quite discontinued since the establishment of certain cattle fairs in the Spring and Autumn, and for these times the annual visits are now reserved.

The superstition of the Need-fire is the only other remains of fireworship in these counties. It was once an annual observance, and is still occasionally employed in the dales and some other localities (according to the import of the name, *cattle-fire*) as a charm for various diseases to which cattle are liable. All the fires in the village are first carefully put out, a deputation going round to each house to see that not a spark remains. Two pieces of wood are then ignited by friction, and within the influence of the fire thus kindled the cattle are brought. The scene is one of dire bellowing

and confusion, but the owner is especially anxious that his animals should get "plenty of the reek." The charm being ended in one village, the fire may be transferred to the next, and thus propagated as far as it is required. Miss Martineau (Lake Guide) remarks the continuance of this custom, and relates a story of a certain farmer, who, when all his cattle had been passed through the fire, subjected an ailing wife to the influence of the same potent charm.

At various times attempts were made to suppress those remains of fireworship. The sixth council of Constantinople, 680, interdicted "bone-fires;" the Synodus Francica, 742, inhibited *Nedfri* (need-fires),—with what success we have seen. These customs, which, by the change of religion alone, were rendered harmless, continued until their latest names lost all special significance. Bale-fire became the general term for a signal-fire, and bone-fire is now the name of any fire made at a public rejoicing. Scott (Lay of the Last Minstrel) has even mistaken the need-fire (D. *nöd*, cattle), and used the name for beacon-fire. And there is no doubt that for many centuries, those who were prepared to do battle for their Beltain or their bone-fire, could no otherwise account for either, than as an inherited custom. Those professors of Christianity who transferred the various pagan observances to the saints, according to the coincidences of days and seasons, were wiser than councils or synods; for being most in contact with the ancient rites, they best saw the necessity of tolerating what they were powerless to combat.

CHAPTER III.

GIANTS.

EASTERN nations agree in representing a pre-historic period of the world, intervening, as it were, between the geological ages and the deluge. This primitive time is expressly treated by them in their traditions as mythic: gods and spirits live upon the earth,—at first in peace and happiness; then commences the increasing might of the bad,—the giant race, the struggle of the opposing powers, and the consummation of this period by the flood. The present human family has no part in that time, they are only now created, that is to say, only subsequent to the deluge history begins. Shem, Cham, and Japhet, under various names, become the progenitors of three different stocks of nations; but the giants appear no more—they were an antediluvian creation.

Scandinavian mythology has its giants, which likewise represent the world of the bad, in perpetual contest with the Asa or gods. But at this point the resemblance to the Eastern tradition ceases; the struggle of the good and evil powers does not end with a deluge, but continues to the destruction of the universe, including heaven itself. The giants of the Edda, therefore, whose progenitor was Ymir, still exist, and their dwelling is at the extreme point of the earth. Amongst the intermediate creations of the mythology we find the Trolld, an inhabitant of the mountains, of enormous size, and with some confused likeness to the giant race. His dwelling is a cave, which he illumines with precious stones, and whither he entices unwary people to their destruction. But he is more human-like than the giant; and in common with all the beings of his class, at one time inclines to evil, at another to good.

Several explanations have been offered of the Scandinavian giants: the first, or historical, that they were the aborigines of the country, who disputed the possession of the north with the invading Goths. Late traditions represent them as being expelled by Odhin, and finally exterminated and spell-bound in various ways by Christian saints. In proof of this theory is cited the name of Jutland, as connected with the Jotuns of mythology, but we have no certainty of the identity of the words. It is singular, too, that the belief in giants is found associated, both in mythology and tradition, with that in dwarfs. A race of giants, but of a very undecided kind, found its way into Irish fable, probably from Scandinavian mythology. At their head stand Finn mac Cumhail, his son Oisin, and grandson Oscar. The belief once general in Ireland, that immense treasures, protected by spells, exist in Denmark, seems to be taken from the superstition of the Trolde, who have in their possession inexhaustible riches.

The second explanation given of the giants, namely, the physical, considers them as the elements during the first era of the world, whilst yet agitated and unarranged, the action of which produced on the crust of the earth the effects necessary to fit it for the habitation of man. The removal of boulders naturally followed as the work of giants. In the south of Ireland a large rock and two huge boulders are said to have been brought from the extreme north of the country by Finn, Oisin, and Oscar, on the occasion of a reported invasion of the island, being intended as stepping stones for a wide river which they were informed lay in their route. The river being only half a mile across, was found to require no stepping-stones, the boulders and rock were thrown away as useless, and now lie many miles apart. Not far from Bala lake in Wales stand three large stones, said to be so many grains of gravel which the giant Idris shook out of his shoe. The traditional name of the Giants' Causeway is also evidence in favour of the physical theory.

The third, or mythological explanation, represents the giants as defiant, angry forms peopling wild districts, mountain torrents, cataracts, rocky caverns, ice and stone masses, vast and fearful forests, in short, as the personifications of the terrors and perils of

unexplored and inaccessible regions. The Trolld, who was an inhabitant of the mountains, is in accordance with this view, and corresponds with the Ghool of the East,—a gigantic being of vast strength, possessed of accumulated treasures, the produce of plundered caravans.

The actual history of the post-diluvian giant race divides into two distinct periods: the first, when giants are supposed to inhabit certain unknown parts of the country; the second, when their former existence alone is believed in, and when the fables connected therewith assume really gigantic proportions. Yet those historical fragments of the first period that have been handed down to us, are in general so mixed up with the fabulous traditions of the second, that it is now difficult to discover on what incidents of the former time, the fables of the latter are founded. The achievements of Jack the Giant-killer in Cornwall and Wales are the result of both periods, and, according to the historical theory above-mentioned, have doubtless a substratum of fact; Cormoran, Blunderbore, Galligantus and the rest being certainly Celtic monsters. One of the incidents in Jack's career, the blows he receives from the club of the giant, has its parallel in the prose Edda, a certain proof that all the inventions of northern mythology are not exclusively Scandinavian.

Gog and Magog, the well-known giants of Guildhall—names which by the way have just as little claim on this country as Baal—are traceable through the two periods. Near Plymouth the place is shown where Corinæus, having wrestled with Gogmagog, threw him from a rock into the sea. Gogmagog, so says Geoffrey of Monmouth, was the chief giant of Britain when it was conquered by Brutus. In later times the "giants" formed part of the Midsummer pageants. The *going of the giants* was abolished by a mayor of Chester, 1599; and in the London pageants, we are informed, 1589, "are set forth great and uglie gyants, marching as if they were alive, and armed at all points; but within they are stuffed full of browne paper and tow." On the authority of Dr. Milner (*Hist. of Winchester*, 1798) we have it that at Dunkirk, Douay, and other places, was an immemorial custom on a certain

holiday of constructing a wicker giant, in which were placed men to move it from place to place. Popular tradition declared it to represent a pagan giant, who was killed by the patron saint. There can be no doubt that this custom is identical with that of the "wicker idol" of the Celts, for which was substituted a tree in the modern bone-fires of many places,—and with the "going of the giants" in the pageants. But it is incredible that Christianity would tolerate any such commemoration of human sacrifices; and we cannot regard the Roman account of this famous idol, which was probably a symbol of the overthrow of giantdom,*—as any other than a monstrous exaggeration of hearsay reports.

Cumberland and Westmorland, historically speaking, have passed through both periods of the giant race. The first we may assume to commence with the invasion of the Angles, and to continue to the cessation of the Danish irruptions, when, the country being fully opened up, the giants vanish like mists from the mountains. With the close of this period the final establishment of Christianity coincides; and thus commences the second period, feeding as it were on the lingering beliefs and customs of former times, and prolonging itself indefinitely according to the circumstances of the country.

The names of certain Cumbrian fells belong to the first period. Rissen Scar has been so called from N. *rissi*, a giant (cf. the Riesengebirge, the giants' mountains, of Germany), and Scratch Meal Scar from N. *skratti*, a giant, cognate with our Old Scratch, a popular name for the devil. Trow Gill, near Morland, was once the abode of two giants named Guy and Garlic. They dwelt in caves on opposite sides of the Gill. How long they lived thus is not known, but finally they quarrelled, and fought down the whole length of the glen, until both fell mortally wounded. They were buried where they fell, and the graves remain to this day.†

Much surer traces of actual existence remain to us in the fables

* According to Welsh mythology on the first of May was celebrated the egress from the ark.

† Rev. J. Simpson at the Kendal Natural Hist. Society.

concerning Ewan Cæsario, who was famous through Inglewood forest, and resided at Castle Hewen, near the lake called Tarn Wadlyng. His fame seems to have impressed itself principally on the neighbourhood of Penrith, for it is in this quarter the fabulous traditions respecting him are to be found. Whether he assumed to be king of the province, as he is said to have been, there is no means of judging; but he was probably the King Arthur of the north, who had made himself a terror to the Angles and Danes. From his surname, he was one of those who claimed a partial Roman extraction, and the name of his supposed residence might very well have been preserved in the family from the time of the Roman occupation. This castle is probably the oldest building of the kind in the district, mention being made of its ruins in the reign of Henry the Eighth. Ewanrigg, in the ward of Allerdale-above-Derwent, on which there are some traces of a building, has likewise been appropriated as the site of the residence of Ewan Cæsario; but this fabulous ubiquity is the strongest evidence that such a personage did once flourish in Cumbria.

The remarkable monument in Penrith church-yard that bears the name of the Giant's Grave, has been connected with the hero of Inglewood forest during the second period of his *existence*, and is sufficient proof of the greatness of his actual achievements. Dr. Todd's manuscript (*Hist. of the Diocese*, 1689) furnishes the popular story current in his time, that one Ewen or Owen Cæsarius, famous for hunting and fighting fourteen hundred years ago (the third century), is there buried; that his stature was the entire length between the pillars (fifteen feet); and that the four semi-circular stones bounding the grave, represent so many wild boars killed by him in the forest of Inglewood. Not far from the grave stands a stone,—apparently a broken cross of the old church taken down in 1720,—called the Giant's Thumb. But the rudeness of this notion marks it as decidedly belonging to the latest times.

Ewan Cæsario, having once passed the rubicon of fable, having attained the stature of fifteen feet, could no longer be a dweller of house or castle. The excavations in the banks of the Eamont, near its confluence with the Eden, well known as the Giant's

Caves, were now appropriated as his residence, and he became a giant of doubtful character, "a kind of knight-errant," who killed monster, man, and beast, and dragged them away to his den. But it is probable we have here the engrafting of a hero tradition on that of a giant; for these caves are also said to have been the abode of one Isis, who seized men and cattle, and thereupon indiscriminately satisfied the cravings of his appetite. This place of ill fame has thus been named both Isis Parlis, and Sir Hugh's Parlour, the latter being apparently an interpretation of the former, and Sir Hugh representing Ewan himself. According to a tradition still extant, a fair lady from somewhere or other, where the fame of the giant had never reached, went down to walk on the river-bank, and unconscious of her danger, approached the cave of this dreadful being. She was seen by the lurking monster, who suddenly issued from his den to seize her. Terror-stricken at the sight, the lady executed a most tremendous step across a wide cleft in the rocky bank, opening on the river beneath, and the giant in the act of pursuing her, missed his footing, and broke his neck. Such was his end. The opening in the rock over which the lady so providentially passed, is called the Maiden's Step.*

Castle Hewen is the scene of one of the old ballads of Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, in connexion with the history of the giant, though composed many centuries later than the time at which he lived. The writer at least shows some knowledge of the topography and tradition of Cumbria, but the time chosen is that when King Arthur holds his court at "merrie Carlisle." Our giant in this ballad figures very unattractively, being twice the size of ordinary men, and behaving most rudely to all the innocent travellers who pass his way. The wrath of the king is at length

* The Giant's Caves were doubtless excavated to form a hermitage. The labour necessary for the execution of this work, must not be supposed to be more than the zeal of a saint's followers and neophytes would be willing to undergo. We had in this county St. Herbert living on an island in Derwentwater. See the notes to Scott's *Marmion* for a description of St. Rule's cave at St. Andrews, a place precisely similar to the caves of the Eamont. Nor are these situations more strange than that of St. Kevin at Glendalough.

aroused, and he proceeds from Carlisle to fight the giant; but he is overcome by the power of magic, and only released on condition that he bring back an answer to the inquiry, "What is it women most desire?" The king discovers the solution of this problem, to wit, that "women will have their will," and this brings about an entire revolution in the affairs of the giant.

Another ballad of Percy's collection has been supposed to be illustrative of the history of the Giant's Caves. According to this composition, the hero of which is Lancelot du Lac, the caves would have been the residence of one Tarquin, who held in captivity three score and four knights of the Round Table, and very obligingly kept a copper bason, to serve as a bell, hanging near his den. He was killed by Sir Lancelot. But the conjectural appropriation of this ballad is solely founded on the already conjectural name of King Arthur's Round Table in the neighbourhood.

Carl Lofts of Shap, a wonderful stone monument now destroyed, must be referred for its traditional name to the second period of the giants. The great boulders of the south of Ireland before mentioned, are accounted for (independent of the tradition already given) as the "giants' finger-stones." And an old man of the neighbourhood once explained to an inquirer that "the giants of old used to loft there."—lofting being understood to mean throwing stones by heaving. There seems decidedly to be a connexion between this explanation of the boulders and our Carl Lofts (Carl's Lofts). The names of the Hemps' Graves of Bewcastle, and the Kemp Howe of Westmorland (*D. kämpe*), must be placed in the same category, the latter meaning the giants' hill or tomb, the former the giants' graves, and showing the Anglo-Norse form of the word.

Modern times must stand accountable for the name of the Giant's Chamber in Baron Wood, Cumberland, as there is no tradition belonging thereto, as well as for the story of Hugh Hird, the Troutbeck giant, who flourished when Kentmere Hall was building. The most remarkable feat of strength recorded of this personage, was that of lifting into its place the mantle-tree of the kitchen fire-place, which ten men had in vain endeavoured to move.

Having been sent up to London on some business, the purpose of which is not very clear, he astonished the king by his extraordinary wrestling powers, and received as his reward the house in which he lived, the paddock adjoining, and liberty to cut wood and peat in the forest. Under the name of the "sunny side of a wether," he devoured a whole sheep provided for his refreshment by the king, and then declared he had not got so good a dinner since he left Troutbeck.

The Danish *kämpe* unmistakeably exhibits in itself the rise and fall of giant history; it was first *champion*, then *giant*, and lastly *wrestler*. The hero of the first period becomes the monster of the second; whilst modern times, to supplement such a history, can only produce some person an inch or two taller than average men, with a stomach of more than the ordinary powers of gluttony.

CHAPTER IV.

MONUMENTS.

THE Godhead of the religious system of the Persians, *Zeruane akerene*, is the root and first cause from which all things proceed. His first born are Ormuzd and Ahriman. The latter having by his own will rebelled against his creator, becomes the ruler of Darkness, in opposition to Ormuzd, the prince of Light. Ahriman's rebellion determined the Infinite Being, through Ormuzd, to create the world. The Izeds, a class of intermediate beings (the angels of the Hebrews), were first created; when Ahriman, by permission, created the evil spirits, the Devs. The world, or universe, destined to last four periods of three thousand years each, then became the battle-ground of Light and Darkness.

Ahriman being defeated in his attempt to reconquer heaven, opposes Ormuzd, physically and morally, by corrupting his works upon earth. The evil spirits are his agents, and everything wicked, and unclean in nature, everything evil in spiritual life, has its guardian Dev. It is they who occasion all the ills that flesh is heir to, and for this reason, that in every human being whose death is brought about, a Ferner, or spirit of the good creation, is removed from the earth. This belief in the Devs and the mischiefs they occasion, spread into Europe, and at the introduction of Christianity, by a very easy transition, passed over to Satan. But the cause, or interest that the evil spirits had in the destruction of the human race, was forgotten, and the earth became a sort of play-ground for the devil, whenever he chose to come hither for his amusement.

In modern times, everything unaccountable, however harmless it might be in itself, was ascribed to the agency of the devil. By the hope of a trifling reward—too often the soul of his employer—he might be induced to undertake the execution of any kind of structure. The Pikes on Carrock Fell are specimens of his diabolical architecture, though for what they were intended, tradition does not inform us; and the stones scattered about the summit of the hill, are the result of an accident that happened to him whilst engaged in their erection. He had finished one, and was bringing in his apron a sufficient quantity of stones to complete the second, when the apron-strings burst, and the greater part of his materials scattered in all directions. And this, it appears, is the reason why one of the Pikes is so much smaller than the other. The heap of stones in Ullswater is ascribed to a similar accident. On this occasion also he had his apron laden, and was striding in great haste from the Nab to Barton Fell, when the stones fell into the lake, and formed a bank dangerous to boats at some seasons.

According to a tradition that has made its way into many other places and countries, Kirkby Lonsdale bridge is said to be the workmanship of the devil. He had stipulated to receive for his reward the first living creature that passed over the bridge, but was cleverly cheated by the other contracting party, an old woman, who contrived to substitute a dog. At Stenkrith bridge, near Kirkby Stephen, in a cleft of the rock, a subterranean noise may be heard by any person who applies his ear to the opening. The strange rumbling sound that issues thence is produced by the devil, who there below has a mill continually employed in grinding mustard.

Long Meg and her Daughters, the well-known Druidical monument so called, connects itself by its name with a curious, though not uncommon superstition. Tradition is silent respecting the history of this lady; who she was, and why petrified, are equally unknown. She is, however, in her present state, a very tall personage, made of much harder stone than her “daughters,” about seventy of whom lie around her in a circle. Another version of the story declares these small stones to be her lovers. All that is

farther known of her fate consists of these particulars: if by any means a piece were broken off Meg, the unfortunate lady would bleed; and if any person could number the stones correctly, or twice reckon them the same, he would disenchant the Dulcinea of the moor and her daughters, or her lovers, as it might prove to be. But, strange to say, though many persons have come expressly to amuse themselves with the hope of bringing relief to Meg and her family, no one has yet succeeded. Somebody, it is said, once made a purchase of cakes with the intention of laying one on each stone, but whether his cakes or his patience failed him, we are not informed.

One of the many etymological conjectures generally so worthless, supposing "Meg" to be the Latin *magus*, minus the flexion, is deserving of notice. Granting this theory, the word *magus* must have been obtained from the Christian missionaries, the long stone being the Arch-druid, petrified for his opposition to Christianity. This origin of the name, moreover, might be very easily forgotten, when the present traditional explanation would naturally follow.

Nine Standards, near Kirkby Stephen, standing as it does on the border of the county, is a very remarkable monument, probably of historical origin, that is, symbolically commemorative of some event now lost to the world. It was an Iberian custom, says Aristotle, to erect as many obelisks around a hero's monument as he had slain enemies. But the placing of these nine huge blocks of stone precludes the idea of their being sepulchral. And what says tradition of them now? They were put up in time of war, and clothed in military array, in order to make believe that they were the van of an advancing army of gigantic stature!

The late Colonel Lacy, it is said, conceived the idea of removing Long Meg and her Daughters by blasting. Whilst the work was being proceeded with under his orders, the slumbering powers of Druidism rose in arms against this violation of their sanctuary; and such a storm of thunder and lightning, and such heavy rain and hail ensued, as the Fell-sides never before witnessed. The labourers fled for their lives, vowing never more to meddle with Long Meg. If there be truth in this story, which already wears a

traditional air, all lovers of antiquity must be thankful for the providential throwing of cold water on so wicked a design; and should it ever again be attempted, and that the heavens rain hot water on the perpetrators, we could only hope they would be, like the cat of the proverb, more cautious for the future.

The neighbourhood of Stainton is the scene of a more ancient tradition, but with a fatal termination. On the Keswick road, not far distant from the village, stood in former times a church or abbey; the fields now occupying the site thereof, are still called Kirk Garth, Kirk Syke, Kirk Rigg, etc. Human bones have at various times been disinterred from this ground, and except these, the names alone now indicate what it once has been. In the course of "reformation," the lands belonging to this religious edifice fell into the hands of a certain baron, a man of reckless violence, who lived somewhere thereabouts. He had a number of men employed in the removal of the church, or what ruins remained thereof, probably with the intention of building a house fit to lodge a man of increased wealth; and one day, in consequence of some scruples of the labourers, or some hesitation in the execution of his commands, he came himself to the ground. His orders were very positive, and accompanied with various threats, and doubtless some profane language. Having delivered himself of these, he rode off in the direction of Penruddock, and had gained the summit of the rising ground, looking backwards as he went, when his horse fell under him, and he broke his neck. On the very spot from which the fool looked back to triumph, his soul was required of him. The place is called Baron's Hill; it is about half a mile out of Stainton.

The removal of cairns, or monumental piles of stones, is attended with no such dangers as those above-mentioned. Danish traditions, indeed, inform us of various mishaps that ensued from disturbing the old graves; yet in consequence of the belief that those places contained much treasure, the clandestine opening thereof, during the middle ages, formed a burglarious profession, the followers of which were called "hill-breakers." On the removal of a cairn near Castle Carrock, in 1775, there was found a human skeleton

in a "sort of coffin made of stone;" but a visible alteration for the better in the appearance of the man, together with some mysterious expressions which he let fall, impressed his neighbours with the conviction that he had discovered something more generally current than human dust and bones.

In the south of Ireland, and other places, when a murder has been committed, every person who passes the spot is under an obligation to leave a stone, and the custom being continued for an indefinite time, a considerable heap is generally raised. It once happened that a man of brutal disposition, resident in a town, wantonly slew one of a number of persons who passed his house singing and shouting for their amusement. The blow, which was probably not intended to kill, proved fatal; the murderer escaped the punishment of the law, but for many weeks was obliged to keep a labourer in regular, occasional employment, to remove cairns from before his door. Some provinces of Spain have a similar custom, but to take the words of the writer, the stone is there thrown on the grave. On the borders of Gallicia, says an English traveller, are found heaps of stones. Every Gallician who goes out of the province to seek work, either going or returning, throws a stone on the heap.

We thus come to a curious nutting custom of Westmorland, connected with no less personages than Robin Hood and Little John. In the neighbourhood of Orton are two heaps of stones, under which it is believed the outlaw of Sherwood Forest, and his lieutenant, are buried. It was once customary for every person who went a nutting in the wood, at the south end of which these heaps are situated, to throw a stone on Robin's grave, repeating the following rhyme:

Robin Hood, Robin Hood, here lie thy bones,
Load me with nuts as I load thee with stones.

Whoever was the original of this famous outlaw, and whether he was properly Robin of the Wood, or Robin with the Hood, his name is now connected with mounds and stones innumerable in various parts of England. Lancashire has made him a giant, and

given him Blackstone Edge for a *bed*. Barrows in many places are called Robin Hood's butts. He has become a favourite ballad hero, and has been worked up with the celebration of the May festival; in Westmorland, as we see, he is the patron of nutters. And, in short, too much popularity has converted him, according to the view of critical investigators, into a myth. Near the village of Catterlen, in a retired part of the wood, is a spring called Robin Hood's well, but how it acquired the name is not now known.

The explanation of monumental stones as petrified human beings, is especially Gothic, and not Celtic, understanding that in such contrasts Hiberno-Celtic alone is insisted on with literal strictness. A puzzling kind of monument in Ireland—probably dilapidated burial-chambers—has received the name of the Hag's Bed, but the hag herself has never been supposed to be present. The numerous stone circles of Gaelic Scotland are called chapels, and temples. Most probably to some monument of this kind (no longer in existence), Temple Sowerby owes its name. In the Danish traditions, we find that petrification has been the punishment for various sins, from that of the giants who withstood Christianity, to the perjury of those who had borne false witness at the courts. Stonehenge itself is a company of giants; and Carnac, the wonderful monument of Brittany, is said to be "King Cæsar" and his army, who were petrified whilst in pursuit of the patron saint of the district.

That the same superstition is current in Germany will appear from the popular story on which Wieland has founded his ballad, *Der Mönch und die Nonne*.

THE MONK AND THE NUN.*

On the hill near Eisenach stands the castle of Wartburg, in which, after the diet of Worms, Martin Luther was confined. Not far from thence are two stones, bearing some fancied resemblance to the human form, which are accounted for, according to ancient tradition, in the following tale:

* Translated from the Russian.

A young monk became enamoured of a nun. He struggled long against his love, and for a long time wished to subdue his passion by fasting and penance. But the delicate form of the nun was ever present to his mind. When he sought to pray, his tongue, obedient to his heart, would utter no words but "I love! I love!" He frequently went to the convent in which was the fair recluse; he often looked upon her, shedding tears, and perceived in her face a burning blush, and in her eyes sympathetic tears. Their hearts were moved towards each other; they were alarmed at their feelings, but—they encouraged them. At length the monk, with trembling hand, conveyed to his beloved the following letter: "Dear sister,—Not far from the gate of the convent, on the right hand, rises a steep hill. I will be there at the fall of night. You will be there also, or I will throw myself from the precipice, and will die a temporal and an eternal death." Should I see him, thought shewith beating heart—should I see him outside the convent walls? Oh! I must save him from the dreadful crime of suicide.

She finds means by night to gain the outside of the convent—she goes forward in the darkness, terrified at every sound—she ascends the mountain, and suddenly finds herself in the embrace of her passionate admirer. Trembling with rapture, they forget everything—but suddenly their blood grows cold, their limbs stiffen, their hearts cease to beat, and the wrath of heaven transforms them into two stones.

"You see them," said the postillion to me, pointing to the summit of the mountain.

CHAPTER V.

FAIRIES.

MODERN European mythology, to account for the minor operations of nature, peopled the air, the sea, and the land with innumerable spirits, who held a middle place between the benevolent powers of the universe and the bad, and at one time inclined to good acts, at another to evil. But of all the intermediate creations of man's *poiesis*, none became so widely spread and so popular as the superstition of the fairies. There is very little in the mythology to account for the origin of these beings. Waldron (Description of the Isle of Man) informs us that "the Manks confidently assert that the first inhabitants of their island were fairies," but that they now live in wilds and forests, and on mountains. This idea agrees with one of the theoretical explanations of the giants, and there is every appearance that a confusion of creeds has so far misled the Manks people.

According to another theory, and one much more consonant to the varying systems of Celts and Goths, the fairies are a species of the Devs. This view of their origin, which seems to be Hiberno-Celtic, is still current in Ireland, and is made to conform to the teachings of the Christian doctrine. When the rebellion of the angels brought about their expulsion from heaven, the archangel Michael, who was placed at the gate, after some time made intercession with these words, "O Lord, the heavens are emptying!" The wrath of the Almighty ceased, and all were suffered to remain

in the state of the moment until the consummation of the world. At that precise time many of the fallen angels were already in the bottomless abyss, but some were still in the air, others on the earth, more in the sea. The spirits of the earth, which we now know as fairies, as well as those of the air and the sea, still hope for pardon, and though inclined to evil, are thus restrained from doing all the injury to mortals of which they are capable. This tradition is not very modern; it is told by Giraldus Cambrensis, on the authority of a bishop who received the information from one of themselves, that elves and fairies are fallen angels, but having been seduced, are less criminal than the rest.*

The most notable adventure of the fairies in these counties, is that concerning the loss of their glass drinking-cup, the well-known Luck of Edenhall. One night the butler having gone out to bring water from the well called St. Cuthbert's, which is near the Hall, surprised a company of fairies dancing on the lawn. They had probably been drinking at the well, for they had left their cup in a niche, or, as some say, lying on the grass. However that be, the butler seized the vessel, and though called upon, refused to restore it; when the queen of the fairies uttered the ominous couplet:

If e'er that glass should break or fall,
Farewell the luck of Edenhall.

The Luck of Edenhall, as the cup is now called, has attained a world-wide celebrity, partly through the antiquity of the glass, but still more for the sake of the legend. Ludwig Uhland, a German poet of the "romantic school," has made it the subject of a ballad, in which he adopts the idea that the glass was a present from the queen of the fairies to one of the Musgrave family, and represents the Luck as broken, determinedly hob-a-nobbed to pieces by some reckless "lord." There is a banquet at the Hall, to which the

* Fairy has been supposed to be the Persian *Peri*, but this is by no means proved. H. C. *sig*h (*sidh*, a fairy hill), and G. *elf* (*alb*, a hill) both seem to imply an inhabitant of the hills. The Chinese character for genius, a "spirit," is composed of *man* and *hill*.

lord of the castle orders the fairies' cup to be brought. It is filled with wine, when with an insanity that would be quite unaccountable before dinner, he bids all the guests, according to the German custom, "strike on," in order to test the Luck of Edenhall. The glass breaks; the guests are no longer to be seen. Then in rush the enemy, climbing over the battlements; the lord is slain by the sword, and still holds in his hand a fragment of his broken Luck. Next morning the old butler is searching among the ruins for his lord's bones, and on finding some pieces of the fatal cup, he moralisingly consoles himself, inasmuch as the world itself must one day go to pieces, like the Luck of Edenhall.

This thoroughly German ballad has been translated by Longfellow, the American poet, who comforts *his* readers with the assurance that the goblet is not so entirely shattered as is represented, for that "the tradition, and the shards of the Luck of Edenhall, still exist in England." The information of the poet is fortunately not as correct as his translation; the fairy gift is in singular preservation, and carefully kept in a leathern case. Such care was however not always bestowed on it, as "it is a tradition in the Musgrave family that the Duke of Wharton, when feasting with one of the early baronets, was accustomed, after his revels and amidst his boon companions, to toss up the cup in the air—when he, or some one in attendance, caught it again!"*

The cup is of Venetian manufacture, and one of the oldest glasses in England, for even the case in which it is preserved belongs to the fifteenth century. It is supposed to have been used as a chalice at a time when the vicinity of the Scottish border made the preservation of silver utensils in churches an unsafe speculation. After the cessation of border strife Edenhall church was perhaps the only place at which one of those vessels remained: and the replacing thereof by a silver chalice might easily give rise

* The Luck of Edenhall, a poem in three cantos, by the Rev. B. Porteus, Notes—the latest tribute to the fairy chalice. This elegant little poem is described by the author as a "modern lay of the olden day." A coloured engraving of the cup forms the frontispiece.

to the legend, that the Musgraves hold their fortune by so frail a tenure. In reality, the fairies were priests, and the plundering butler a Scottish "reiver."*

The Dobbie, a kind of household fairy, was once a regular resident of these counties, and may possibly still be found in some localities. His habits were nearly the same as those of the Brownie of Scotland, and Robin Goodfellow of England; and the name appears to be a popular transformation of Robert (cf. Dobson), and therefore identical with Robin, and probably with the Hob (another form of Robert) in Hobgoblin. Only to favoured families did the Dobbie attach himself, and the conditions of service were simple; a bowl of milk and an oaten cake, or a bowl of curds and cream, was to be left every night for his use—in other words, there should be no niggardliness of the household economy—and in return he assisted the operations of the servants, and all things went on favourably. Any neglect of the Dobbie's tribute was followed by the penalty of ill-luck in the cooking, churning, or cheese-making; and even the work performed during the day, like the web of Penelope, was undone or spoiled by night.

"It is recorded in a manuscript history of Crosby Ravensworth, that a Dobbie at Crosby Hall revealed to a farmer the place in which he would find a treasure. 'It would not, perhaps, be considered a faithful history,' says the writer, 'were no mention made of a certain extraordinary being, which is said to have paid nightly visits to the Hall about this time, to the no small terror and astonishment of the family then belonging to it; which, whether a real preternatural apparition, or whether the effect of some clandestine knavery, or whether a phantom of imagination only, did certainly at that time excite more public curiosity, furnish more subject for marvellous anecdote, and will, I believe, be longer remembered than any living lord that owned the place before or after.' At what date it commenced its gloomy walks we cannot learn, all the old records being silent upon the subject; but tradition says,

* The Luck of Edenhall is likewise made mention of in a ballad supposed to have been written by the Duke of Wharton.

it left the place after the demolition of the old tower, and on taking leave gave an old gentleman, the farmer at the Hall, information of some hidden treasure, and also a very friendly intimation of the exact time and manner of his death, which old people say, with much confidence, and within their remembrance, did happen accordingly.”*

For some time no fairies have been seen in this district, and in one part of Westmorland, indeed, the date of their departure hence is known. An inhabitant of Martindale, Jack Wilson by name, was one evening crossing Sandwick Rigg on his return home, when he suddenly perceived before him, in the glimpses of the moon, a large company of fairies intensely engaged in their favourite diversions. He drew near unobserved, and presently descried a stee (ladder) reaching from amongst them up into a cloud. But no sooner was the presence of mortal discovered than all made a hasty retreat up the stee. Jack rushed forward, doubtless firmly determined to follow them into fairy-land, but arrived too late. They had effected their retreat, and quickly drawing up the stee, they shut the cloud, and disappeared. And in the concluding words of Jack’s story, which afterwards became proverbial in that neighbourhood, “yance gane, ae gane, and niver saw mair o’ them.” The grandson of the man who thus strangely witnessed this last apparition of the fairies, himself an old man, was appealed to not long ago on the truth of this tradition. Having listened attentively to the account of it already printed, he declared, “It was a’ true however, for he heard his grandfather tell it many a time.”

“It is still believed,” says a writer on the superstitions of the Scottish highlands, “that the Shi’ichs (fairies) are present on all occasions of public entertainment, as at funerals and weddings, and even at fairs; and that they are there busily employed, though invisible to mortal eyes, in abstracting the substantial articles and provisions which are exhibited, and in substituting shadowy forms in their stead.” Offerings and sacrifices to the fairies are usual

* Rev. J. Simpson at the Kendal Nat. Hist. Society.

in the Isle of Man; and in Ireland, it is a common form of consolation for the spilling of milk on the ground, to say, "Perhaps that place wanted it,"—meaning that the milk thus seemingly wasted would probably be drunk by an expectant fairy.

These remarks may probably afford some explanation of the "fairy christenings" of Westmorland, of which Mr Simpson (already quoted) gives us an account. It is still common, he says, for a wife in her husband's absence, and generally without his knowledge, to make a rich cake, and have a feast, to which she invites a select few of her neighbours; and as this is done in a secret way, or at an unseasonable time, it is called a fairy christening.

Fairies are now spoken of as belonging to the past. There is abundance of belief in their former existence, but they do not deign to show themselves. At the time of the construction of the Lancaster and Carlisle railway, something was said of the "fairies pulling down the big bridge at Shap," where the work perhaps did not get on very expeditiously; but, as far as I am aware, it may have been an unauthentic report. "Fairy-bead beck," near Stainton, some years ago, furnished an unlimited supply of curiously shaped pebbles, from which the stream received its name. They are described as of the size of large beads, partly shaped like the joints of a backbone, partly having a resemblance to ladles with handles, and to "cups and saucers." But they are scarcely to be found now, as if the fairies and their beads had disappeared together.

"I made strict enquiries," says Brand, "in the uncultivated wilds of Northumberland, but even there I could only meet with a man who said that he had seen one that had seen fairies." As long ago as the time of Chaucer, the same kind of unbelief had existence. The Wife of Bath is telling of the "old days of king Artour," when "all was this lond fulfilled of faerie," but adds:

I speke of many hundred yeres ago,
But now can no man see none elves mo.

In Suffolk the fairies of the present day have even lost their name,

and are called the *Pharisees*.* It is no wonder that the Westmorland man, who under propitious circumstances actually witnessed their departure, was obliged to resign himself never to see “mair o’ them.”

* Popular Antiquities, by J. Brand, new edition. The number of names of this kind adrift in England is surprising. I have frequently heard in Cumberland the “gentry” spoken of as the *gentiles*. Baal, and Gog and Magog have been already mentioned.

CHAPTER VI.

HOLY WELLS.

AMONGST the intermediate creations of Gothic mythology, the water-spirits hold a conspicuous place. They inhabit every sea, stream and pool; are of surpassing beauty, gifted with song that no mortal senses can withstand; with golden hair, green teeth, and large eyes. When they come out on the bank, as they frequently do, to sing, comb their hair, and hold intercourse with the people of the earth, they are easily recognisable by their dripping garments. The boatman who hears the song of the water-spirit—his hour is come; and he who unwarily approaches her on the shore, is snatched to a watery grave.

This superstition, as here described, is, with few discrepancies, generally among the Gothic peoples; and from a comparison of the superstitions of the Goths and Celts, the conclusion is, that the latter were indoctrinated with this particular belief by the former. As the fairies show themselves intrusively among the Scandinavian spirits, so do the spirits of the water find no place in Celtic mythology. The oldest mention made of sacred wells in Ireland, referring to the fourth century, therefore anterior to the introduction of Christianity, appears in the romance or embellished tradition of the "Battle of Ventry Harbour." The well is kept by three sisters, and has the property of restoring to perfect health the person who bathes in it, though mortally wounded. But nothing is said of a water-spirit.

Every transfer of a superstition, whilst it alters the principle of belief, renders it more inveterate; and so the missionaries, Greek and Latin, to the Irish and Britons, found. They bought off the enemy they were unable to conquer; they exorcised the spirits by giving them Christian names. And as the Midsummer bone-fires were transferred to St. John, so did all the saints in the calendar receive the wells amongst them. In the course of a few generations, the Celtic adoption of the water-spirits became the mere guardianship of Christian saints; and this form of their own superstition seems to have made a deep impression on the Gothic peoples, and to have been received favourably by them on their invasion of these islands. Holy wells were not unknown in Denmark; and in England they abounded, and were frequented for the cure of disease to a late period.

Efforts of various kinds were made by the Christian church to suppress the custom of praying at wells for the restoration of health, but without effect. In an Anglo-Saxon penitentiary we find: "If any keep his wake at any wells, or at any other created things except at God's church, let him fast three years, the first on bread and water, and the other two, on Wednesdays and Fridays on bread and water; and on the other days let him eat his meat, but without flesh." A Saxon homily against witchcraft and magic says: "Some men are so blind that they bring their offerings to immoveable rocks, and also to trees, and to wells, as witches teach."

Waking the well continued all through the middle ages. The prevalent custom appears to have been the following: the well was visited on the eve of the patron saint's day, some of the water was drunk, and the offering was made. The visitor lay all night on the ground near the well, drank the water again in the morning, and carried some away in a bottle. But the practice of waking, that is, keeping the vigil of the saint's day, led to such immorality that it was discontinued.

There is every indication that holy wells were once numerous in these counties, and customs connected therewith, as in other Celtic and Dano-Celtic districts, were maintained into the present century.

But owing principally to the influence of the Reformation, the annual meetings at the wells degenerated into "sports" at a comparatively early period. One of the contributors to Hutchinson's Cumberland speaks with regret of the suppression of a holy well in his neighbourhood. On the common east of Blencogo, he says, not far from Ware Brig, near a large rock of granite called St. Cuthbert's Stane, is a spring named Helly Well. It was the custom for the youth of the neighbouring villages to assemble at this well early in the afternoon of the second Sunday in May, and there to join in a variety of rural sports. It was the village wake, but no strong drink of any kind was ever seen there. About twenty years ago (1774) a curate of the parish set his face against it, and the meetings at Helly Well were discontinued. Hutchinson also makes mention of Hally Well, a spring in the parish of Wigton, which comes off iron ore; and of Toddell Well in Kirkbampton, used by the people to cleanse sores.

Some limited localities have had more than one well frequented within the memory of persons yet living. In the neighbourhood of Penrith were no less than four such places of resort, which were visited in turns on the four Sundays of May. First in order of these was Skirsgill Well, second Clifton, third the well at the Giant's Caves, and fourth at Dicky Bank on Penrith fell-side. The chief of these gatherings was held at Clifton, where, it must be confessed, the observances were not all as innocent as those described at Blencogo. Preparations were made as for ordinary sports, stalls of confectionary appeared on the ground, and there ensued a considerable consumption of gingerbread, sweeties, and short cakes. But the drink was not limited to the water of the well, and set fights became a regular part of the amusement. An inhabitant of the neighbourhood for many years of his life fought annually at Clifton, and remembers having taken his part in twelve battles on one day. In consequence of these disorders the meetings were suppressed about thirty-three years ago. Giant's Cave Sunday is still observed, but the custom has dwindled into insignificance, the "shaking bottles" carried by the children at that season being the only remains of what it once has been. But it affords a pleasant

walk to the young people of Penrith, as it probably has done since the time when the caves were the residence of a "holy man."

It is surprising that the wells so long lived under the opposition they must have had to encounter in England. But it is hard to dissuade people from any practice by which they obtain relief, if it even come through the imagination. Many wonderful cures, it was said, were performed at St. Maddren's Well in the parish of Penzance (Cornwall). The rector of a neighbouring parish used to reprove his parishioners much for resorting thither. One day it happened that he met a woman returning with a bottle of the water after waking the well; and having given her a severe lecture on her superstition, he tasted the water, and *it cured him of the colic.**

Besides the wells annually resorted to in Ireland, there are many supposed to possess special curative powers, which are visited on any day of the year by persons from afar. Most generally in the dusk of evening the pilgrim is to be seen kneeling by the well, and telling his beads; the lateness of the hour being a consequence of his having travelled all day. Overhanging the well grows a small tree or bush, to which, as a memorial, a piece of rag is fastened; and where no bush exists, a pin is thrown into the bason. It is considered necessary invariably to drink of the water, and to wash or bathe in it when the case requires it.

In Ireland the observances, as now existing, may endure for a long time to come. There, too, the meeting was taken advantage of to renew old feuds; but the custom has lived down those evil days, and now, as once in these counties, the sports (if any) are harmless, and the drink water from the well.

The water-superstition of Germany assumes a variety of forms, for illustrations of which reference may be made to the romance of Undine, by La Motte Fouqué. The following popular story of Upper Lusatia will show the other extreme of the superstition, which has there undergone no such metamorphoses as in these islands:

* Camden's Britannia.

THE NIXE.*

There was once a miller, rich in the world's goods, who was married and led a happy life. But misfortune comes when it is least expected; the miller grew poor, until the mill in which he lived could hardly be called his own. Troubled at heart then he wandered about all day, and at night lay awake, restless with mournful reflection.

One morning before day he arose, and went out, for this he thought might relieve him a little. As he walked up and down thoughtfully on the dam of the mill-pond, a noise was suddenly heard in the water, and on looking round, lo! there rose up before him a white woman. Now, this he knew could be no other than the Nixe of the pond, and whilst he was in doubt whether to go away or remain, she spoke to him, calling him by name, and asked him why he was so sorrowful. The miller, taking heart at the kind words of the spirit, told her how he had once been rich and happy, but that now he knew not what to do for anxiety and distress. The Nixe comforted him, and promised that she would make him richer and happier than ever he had been, if he would give her in return what had just been born in his house. This, thought the miller, can only be a young cat or dog—he gave the required promise, and joyfully hastened home.

At the door the servant met him with beaming face, and informed him that his wife had borne a son. Surprised at the news, and unable to rejoice at the birth of his child, which he had not expected so soon, he entered the house, and in the deepest affliction related to his wife, and the assembled relatives, what had passed between him and the Nixe. "Let all the fortune that I am to receive from her fly away!" said he, "if I can only save my child." None of his friends, however, could give any better advice, than that the boy should be carefully watched, and never suffered to approach the pond.

* Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum.

The boy grew up and thrived ; and meantime wealth returned to the miller, till he became richer than ever he had been. Yet this fortune brought with it no joy, for he was tormented with the thought of his vow, and feared that the Nixe would sooner or later bring about its accomplishment. Thus year after year passed away, the boy became a fine young man, and learned hunting ; and the lord of the village took him into his service. The young hunter then married a wife, and was living in joy and happiness.

It happened once in hunting that he was pursuing a hare, which at length turned its course across the open plain. The hunter followed eagerly, and brought it down with his gun. In the heat of the chase he did not perceive that he was in the neighbourhood of the pond from which he had been carefully kept at a distance since his childhood ; so having opened the animal, he went to the water to wash the blood from his hands. But scarcely had he dipped them in the pond when the Nixe arose, embraced him with her dripping arms, and drew him down, till the waters closed over him.

As the hunter did not return home, his wife became greatly alarmed, but when they sought for him, and found his gamebag lying near the mill-pond, there was no longer any doubt on her mind as to what had happened him. She went down to the pond, and without rest or repose strayed round it night and day, calling piteously on her husband. At length exhausted, she fell into a deep sleep, and dreamed that she wandered through a blooming plain, till she came to the cottage of a witch, who promised to restore her husband. So when she awoke in the morning, she determined to follow the inspiration, and to seek out this wise woman. She set out, and wandered till she came to the blooming plain, and to the cottage in which dwelt the witch, to whom she related her mournful story, and that it was through a dream she was induced to seek her advice and assistance. The witch answered her, that she should go at the full moon to the pond, and there comb her hair with a golden comb, and lay it on the bank. The hunter's young wife rewarded the old woman handsomely, and set out towards home.

The time passed slowly ; but at length the moon came to the full, when the hunter's wife went to the pond, and combed her dark hair with a golden comb, laid the comb on the bank, and looked anxiously into the water. Then it foamed and swelled from the depths of the pond, a wave washed the golden comb from the bank, and soon after her husband raised his head out of the water, and gazed at her mournfully. But there came another swelling wave, and the head sunk, without having spoken a word. The pond lay tranquil as before, and the hunter's wife was as disconsolate as ever.

For many days and nights she continued to watch about the pond, till she again sunk in sleep, and had again the same dream that directed her to the witch. So in the morning she went across the blooming plain, and came to the cottage, and related her story. The old woman ordered her to go again to the pond at the full moon, to play upon a golden flute, and lay it on the bank. When the full moon appeared, the hunter's wife went to the pond, played upon a golden flute, and laid it beside the water. Then it foamed and swelled from the depths of the pond, and a wave washed the golden flute from the bank ; and presently the hunter raised his head over the water, higher and higher till his breast appeared, when he spread out his arms towards his wife. Another wave swelled, and drew him down to the bottom. The hunter's wife had stood full of joy and hope on the bank, but she relapsed into deep grief when her husband disappeared in the water.

But a third time came the dream, leading the way over the blooming plain, and to the cottage of the witch. This time the old woman ordered her, at the next full moon, to go to the pond, there to spin upon a golden wheel, and to lay the wheel on the bank. When the moon came to the full, in obedience to the command, she went to the pond, spun upon a golden wheel, and laid it on the bank. Then it foamed and swelled from the depths of the pond, and a wave washed away the golden wheel ; and the hunter raised his head above the water, higher and higher, till at length he stepped out on the bank, and fell on his wife's neck. Then the water began to foam and swell, and inundated the bank far and

wide, and snatched away the hunter and his wife, as they stood embracing each other. In anguish of heart the hunter's wife called on the old witch for aid, when instantly the hunter was transformed into a frog, and his wife into a toad. But they were not suffered to remain together, the water bore them to different sides ; and when the inundation had subsided, both had resumed their human forms, but they were in a foreign country, and knew nothing of each other.

The hunter resolved to live as a shepherd, and it so happened that his wife became a shepherdess. Thus for many years they kept sheep, remote from each other. At length it chanced that the shepherd came into the country where the shepherdess lived. He was pleased with what he saw ; the land was fruitful and convenient for the pasture of herds. So he brought his sheep thither, and kept them as before ; and the shepherd and shepherdess became good friends, but did not recognise each other.

One evening they sat together in the full moon ; their flocks grazing around them, and the shepherd playing upon his flute. Then the shepherdess thought of that evening when she sat at the pond playing upon the golden flute ; and unable to restrain herself, she burst into tears. The shepherd astonished, asked her why she wept, and she informed him of all that had happened to her. At once there fell, as it were, scales from his eyes ; he recognised his wife, and made himself known to her. And they returned joyfully to their native country, and lived undisturbed and in peace.

CHAPTER VII.

WITCHCRAFT.

WE have no word sufficiently comprehensive to include all that is understood by the term witchcraft, unless we may be allowed to make use of the borrowed *diablerie*, which somewhat loosely expresses the groundwork of the whole belief. Evil spirits, the successors or representatives of the Devs, it was believed, for a considerable time personally infested the earth; then followed the magicians, to whom, on certain conditions, evil powers were delegated; lastly came the witches, whose astounding confessions in connexion with the author of sin must ever be a source of amazement. And now, though the last witch was burned many years ago, we again find Satan meddling on the earth in various paltry ways, whilst seeking whom he may devour. Satanic malice is clearly the basis of it all.

The highest point of the Pennine hills was once the abode of evil spirits, and for this reason was called Fiends' Fell. But a Christian missionary who chanced to come the way, boldly ascended the mountain, exorcised the fiends, and erected a cross on the summit; and thus it received its present name, Cross Fell. There is an air of credibility about this tradition. The helm wind would doubtless at one time assist in giving an ill-name to the part of the Pennine on which it prevails, as even in modern times a story has gained currency, that a man with a horse and cart was carried off in one of these storms, and was never found. Opportunities such as that afforded by the haunted fell, were eagerly seized by

the Christian missionaries to give an impulse to conversion ; and it is probable the inhabitants of the district of Crosby Garret, Crosby-on-Eden, and Crosby Ravensworth received Christianity in consequence of the exorcism of Fiends' Fell.

It appears that the belief in dragons once formed part of the superstitions of this district. The neighbouring county of Northumberland furnishes us with corroborative evidence. Three springs near Longwiton Hall, now resorted to as holy wells, were in ancient times, guarded by a tremendous dragon. He had the power of rendering himself invisible, but was at length attacked by Guy, Earl of Warwick, who commanded him from his den. As often as the monster was wounded, he dipped his tail in the water, and was restored, to prevent which the Earl got between him and the wells, and slew him.*

Pendragon Castle in Mallerstang (Westmorland), has been named from the mound on which it stands, the dragon's hill, so called from some tradition of the kind above quoted. In later times, this story was probably forgotten, and to account for the name, tradition handed over the castle to Uther Pendragon, one of the fabulous heroes of Welsh history, and one of the supposed fathers of King Arthur. It is said he built the castle, and attempted to turn the Eden from its course, so as to surround his dwelling with the river; but in this he failed, and hence arose the popular rhyme:

Let Uther Pendragon do what he can,
Eden will run where Eden ran.

The "wondrous Michael Scott," or, as he is better known at this side of the Border, Mitchel Scott, has been appropriated by Cumbrian tradition, and has found his way over the two counties. The achievements related of him are striking proofs of the close connexion between wizards and the evil spirit. Tradition divides the credit of the erection of Carrock Fell pikes between the Devil and Mitchel Scott; and the heap of stones in Ullswater is equally attributed to a misfortune that happened to the apron of the latter.

* Hodgson's Hist. of Northumberland.

Orton bridge, which is the work of one night, was erected by the wizard. According to his namesake Sir Walter, he was Sir Michael Scott of Balwearie, who flourished during the thirteenth century. But Cumbrian tradition avers that he was a monk, and was buried at Holme Cultram, where some of his books were preserved until they mouldered away.

Modern wizards, commonly called wise men, are of a somewhat more softened character than Mitchel Scot. In the last century, Westmorland had its wise men, one of whom, named Dr. Lickbarrow, flourished about a hundred years ago. According to a well-written account of this worthy that appeared in the *Kendal Mercury* (1856), he resided at the farmhouse called Murthwaite, in Longsleddale, and was the proprietor of the dwelling and estate. He was a clever disciple of Æsculapius, a poet, and an undoubted professor of the Black Art.

“Though more than suspected of having dealings with the evil one, he still seems to have paid some attention to the observances of religion, and one fine Sunday morning he attended the little chapel, among his neighbours. The morning was remarkably beautiful and calm; scarcely a breath of air stirred a leaf or blade of grass. The congregation had assembled, and the minister was about the middle of the service, when, all at once, all present were startled by the commencement of such a hurricane as none there had ever heard. Slates were blown from the roof of the chapel. The doctor, meanwhile, looked like one who felt that mischief was abroad, and comprehended the quarter from whence it sprung. At length he hastily quitted his place, and took the road home. When just below Beech Hill bridge, he met with the Prince of Darkness, who for the time present professed to be his servant, and humbly asked for work. The doctor desired him to make ‘thumb-symes’ of the river sand. He requested straw. The doctor answered, ‘Never a bit!’ and pursued his homeward route. On entering his farm-yard he was met by the servant lad, who said to him, ‘Maister, I believe t’ d—I’s abroad to-day, for our taam buck hes knocked me doon twice i’ t’ faald, an hed like tel hae putten me intel’t midden.’ He hurried onwards into his parlour, to the window of

which his book of books was chained, and there found his man busily engaged in reading." The unfortunate wight had just taken a peep through curiosity, and felt compelled, in spite of himself, to read on. The doctor flung him out of the room, and sat down to the book himself, when the wind was allayed, and things returned to their usual course.

Many traditional stories common to men of his day, are related of the doctor. He was applied to for the recovery of stolen goods; but his fame is probably founded on his success in the art of quack doctoring. As he lay on his death-bed, two pigeons, a white one and a black one, were observed fighting on the roof of his house. He took a deep interest in the progress of the combat, and when at length informed that the black bird had killed its antagonist, he ejaculated, "Its all over with me, then!" and soon after expired.

Another of the wise men of Westmorland, who flourished during the last century, gained for himself the reputation of being a learned man and a good man, and one who never used his powers for evil.* His book, inscribed "Dr. Fairer's book of Black Art," is still in existence. It treats of the motions of the heavenly bodies, and shows some knowledge of astronomy. His speculations about the man in the moon are, however, not of a very advanced kind. "In this lesser luminary," he says, "there is visible to all the inhabitants around this earthly globe, the likeness of a man with a great tree on his shoulder; it is said he did steal it, and being accused, he denied, and wished if he stole it, he might leap with it into the moon." However, "it is not the real natural substance of the man and thorn, but the appearing likeness set in the moon by the handiwork of the Lord Almighty for a public warning to all people round this earthly globe, to refrain from doing wrong in anything by word or by deed." Until very lately it was believed there was great danger in opening this book.

Astrology, on which Dr. Fairer seems to have had some claim, long flourished in these counties. Hutchinson gives us some interesting details concerning a student of this science, one Abraham

* Rev. J. Simpson, at the Kendal Nat. Hist. Society.

Fletcher of East Cumberland, who died in 1793. His schooling consisted of three weeks at one penny per week, yet he became a great mathematician, botanist, herb doctor, and astrologer. In the margin of a book of astronomical calculations belonging to him, he had made an entry of the places of the planets at his birth, to which one George Bell of Cockermouth added: "This gives in time seventy-eight years and fifty-five days. Near this period is a bad direction; it brings Saturnine griefs, especially such as proceed from cold, dry and phlegmatic causes; and *if Saturn be Anretta*, it threateneth death." Abraham Fletcher outlived the term of this prediction—which was made several years before his death—by sixteen days.

Wizards and astrologers have alike disappeared from this part of England, but witches are still remembered by persons living. And it is remarkable that, down to the latest period of their existence, they were known exclusively for the infliction of wanton torments on men and animals. I am informed by a native of Westmorland, who belongs to the neighbourhood of Appleby, that in former times, witches were only too numerous in that part of the country. His grandmother told him that her horse was one night "witched" on to the top of a thorn tree—a remarkable one—in the middle of a field, and that to recover the animal, they were obliged to cut down the tree. The horse survived the witching a very short time. In such a case there seems to have been but one certain means of discovering the guilty party. When the animal died, if the heart was burned, the witch would be compelled to come and present herself at the window of the house, in which the spell was being operated, where her face could be distinctly seen and recognised.

My informant himself knew a witch, and remembers oftentimes at night seeing her house a blaze of fire, illumining the darkness around. He was once at the hunting of a hare that took refuge in a "leath," the doors of which were closed. On entering, there stood the old witch, the hare of course having disappeared. He expressed some surprise at the metamorphosis, but his companions, who were used to this kind of thing, said it was not the first time they had hunted that old witch.

Various minor superstitions held their ground until a very short time ago. It is mentioned in Hutchinson, that an inhabitant of Scale Houses, Renwick, had an exemption from tithes, in consequence, the people said, of the possessor of the land two hundred years before having killed a "crackachrist,"—a strange corruption of cockatrice. He had some deed or record which he would let nobody see, and this negative evidence materially strengthened the tradition.

It is well known that the rowan-tree (the mountain ash), and red thread were considered very effective against witches. Mr. Simpson informs us that country people can still tell of bewitched churns, and of the spell being broken by the wood of the rowan-tree. It used to be a common thing, he believes, to plant this tree near stiles for the purpose of guarding against the power of witches; and holed stones are still to be found hanging in stables for the protection of the horses.

The "pez-strae" charm flourished in Anderson's time, and may possibly be still practised in some places. Any person who suffered disappointment from his or her lover, when the loss became irretrievable, was rubbed over with pease-straw by individuals of the opposite sex. Whether this charm was believed to be potent in procuring another sweetheart, or was merely intended as a consolation,—a sort of tonic,—does not appear.

Persons possessed of the "evil eye" are still remembered and spoken of, but I cannot hear of any such now living. It was better to make a long circuit than to meet one of these ominous individuals, especially in the morning. Like the witches, they seemed willing to acknowledge their evil power, alleging it to be a misfortune over which they had no control. In the neighbourhood of Penrith an old man of this class is spoken of, who when he met the milk-girls returning from the field or "byre," used to warn them to "cover their milk," adding that, whatever was the consequence, he "couldn't help it."

The letter of a correspondent of the *Kendal Mercury* gives us some account of a singular belief "which still lingers among a few rural inhabitants, that the dark, or shadowed part of the moon is

capable or incapable of containing water, according as its obliquity is greater or less. 'I think its drawing to rain, Robert.' 'Nay, net it—it 'll nin rain—t' moon can hod nea watter.' But I have also heard, on one occasion, a like prognostic of rain from just the opposite condition, because 't' moon hods oa't watter.' Which-ever may be the original saying, the idea remains the same—that under a certain oblique form of shadow, this orb of night is converted into a large bowl or reservoir of water."

Wise men and witches can still subsist on the credulity of dupes in some districts of England, but there is very little of the kind now remaining in these counties. Fortune-telling indeed still thrives, but principally in connexion with affairs of matrimony. Reading the lines on the hands, tossing cups, and cutting cards, are the most ordinary means, but swindlers use other means, and too often with success. An inhabitant of a certain part of Cumberland is now possessed of a charm for the tooth-ache, to obtain which persons have come many miles. Strict secrecy is necessary for the success of the spell. But to the credit of the operator it must be told, that he dispenses his remedy freely, and without charge, and that many persons believe that it has cured them.

CHAPTER VIII.

APPARITIONS.

THE most general superstition yet lingering amongst us, is the belief in apparitions, in the native dialect commonly called boggles (see page 79). There is no nook of the country inaccessible to boggles, no mind so incredulous that it may not at some moment, or in some way, be converted from its scepticism. We have stories of persons who, on being warned of the danger of passing certain haunted places, snapped their fingers at the spirit, but—after that night were never known to speak disrespectfully of ghosts. Generally, indeed, the enlightened hold the apparition of spirits to be an impossibility. But as this in a great measure depends on the nature and extent of their philosophy, any change, or even one step farther, may carry them over this barrier, into a region where such things are quite possible.

As the word boggle includes all the varieties of the apparition kind that preceded it, so nothing is more uncertain than the manner in which the spirit manifests itself. Any shape, human, or animal, or composite, any unaccountable noise, may be a *boggle*. There is no exaggeration in the conversation of the servants in the “*Haunted House*,” one of whom declares that the spirit has never yet appeared but in the shape of the sound of a drum. The bedroom of a certain inn of Cumberland was said to have been haunted for many years; and with what? why, with the crackling noise of fire burning in the grate. On inquiring what it could

possibly be that produced the noise, I was informed it was a boggle. In one of Anderson's pleasantest ballads, entitled "Nichol the Newsmonger," we find the hero thus describing an apparition :

A boggle's been seen wi twae heeds
(Lord help us!) ayont Wully car'us,
Wi twae saucer een and a tail;
They du say it's auld Jobby Barras.

Yet probably there was no doubt that old Jobby Barras, when alive, had but one head and no tail.

Animal shapes are amongst those most commonly assumed by boggles. Large dogs, white horses, unaccountable cats, and white rabbits, all add to the boggle family; but are expected to appear where they have no business, to vanish through the dark side of stone walls, or to disappear down craggy, steep paths near which no well-meaning animals should be found. "It is said that a farmer at Hackthorpe Hall was led to the discovery of hidden treasure by an apparition in the form of a calf. He had noticed that this spectre always vanished beneath or near to a large trough, which at that time stood in the farm-yard. He had the trough lifted on edge, and found beneath it a hoard of gold, with which he afterwards purchased two estates in Cumberland. There is a somewhat similar story told of Howgill Castle."*

The potters of the "olden time," before the apparition of policemen in these counties, were particularly well stored with boggle stories of the animal sort, which they related to each round their camp-fire by night. Haunted "plantins" there were in all parts. In some cases a white horse had been seen twinkling through the trees, in others the plantin had been agitated by a furious storm of wind, while no breath of air was stirring outside. One daring potter had run after a huge dog one night, had run, and run, until it disappeared; but he would take care never again to do so, for this dog was an old man who had committed suicide some four or five miles distant. There is a story of a potter who was returning from Staffordshire, and in some part of Westmorland laid down his

* Rev. J. Simpson at the Kendal Nat. Hist. Society.

cart, and under it settled himself to sleep. During the night he awoke, and heard such a rattling amongst the pots, that he concluded the place was haunted, and not fit for mortal sojourn. He started up, caught his old horse, and travelled about seven miles further, until he thought he had fairly left the boggle behind. He "loosed out" again, and laid down, when the boggle recommenced. But it was now daylight, so he looked amongst his pots, and there was the secret—a cat he had stolen, had escaped out of the bag in which it was tied. And he had "clean forgotten it."

Of the extinct species of apparitions, now included under the name of boggles, the bargheist was perhaps the principal. Originally the spirit that haunted the tomb, or barrow (see page 47), in later times it came to be known by its noise. "'To beal like a bargheist,'" Mr. Simpson informs us, "is still applied to crying children, and 'thou girt bargheist' serves as a term of reproach to any one who makes a bellowing noise, and disturbs the neighbourhood. 'I was yance,' says a person now living, 'ya neet, comen doon a lonnen, fra seein our Betty, when a' et yance I saw summet afore me. Efter a bit I went on, but it nivver stirred. When I gat near't, I fetched it a skelp wi my stick, and it gev a girt beal oot. I knew then it was a bargheist.'" The *brag* of Northumberland and Durham is doubtless the same with the bargheist, the name being a contraction. An old woman said she never *saw* the brag distinctly, but frequently heard it.*

"It is a curious fact," says Mr. Simpson, "and well worthy of observation, that most of the places at which any remains of antiquity are found to exist, or any curious or interesting discoveries made, have had the reputation of being haunted. The story of some fearful tragedy enacted on the spot may have been long forgotten; but from generation to generation the place has had an evil reputation. About thirty years since there were found in a place called Skellaw Warle, in the parish of Morland, eleven human skeletons. It is said that some of them had been buried with rings, apparently of gold, around their wrists, and some

* The Borderer's Table Book, by M. A. Richardson.

brazen ornament upon their temples. But long before this discovery was made, the place had the reputation of being haunted: a man of dark complexion was seen to glide from one point of the rock to another, and silently disappear." A very remarkable cairn at Hollin Stump (near Asby) had a similar ill name. "There is a story told of a man passing this place on his road from Gaythron Hall to Kendal fair, being very much alarmed by an apparition that suddenly crossed his path. He said that there galloped past him a figure on horseback without a head, but wearing upon his shoulders something like a flat board."

Whether "bo" ever enjoyed an actual or independent existence I am unable to learn. Jamieson (Scottish Dictionary) defines *bu* as an object of terror, *bu-kow* as a scarecrow or hobgoblin, and *bu-man* as a goblin or the devil. Boggle-bo and boggle-de-boo do not seem to differ from ordinary boggles.* Mr. Simpson gives a good illustration of bo. "At a place lying to the northeast of Kendal, a man and his son were breaking in a mare. 'Do ye think noo,' said the lad to his father, 'et meyar ill nit boggle?' 'Neyah,' said the old man, 'she'll boggle nin, nit she; but we can try her. Gang thee thee ways, and git ahint a yat-stoop, en I'll git on't meyar en ride her through't gap-steed, en just as I's gangin til't, rear thee oot and shout *bo!* en if she stands that, she'll stand out.' The lad did as he was told, and the old man rode the mare very quietly towards the gateway. When he had approached within a few yards, out popped the lad with his dirty cap over his head, and shouted *bo!* Away went the mare across the field, and down fell the old man with a 'soss,' happily not much the worse for his tumble. 'Od's wile licht o' thee, thoo lile varment,' said he, 'thoo boes with neyah judgment at a'—thoo mud ha kilt thee fadder.'"

Westmorland never produced a more famous boggle—infamous

* It may be worth mentioning that *Boa* is the name of the principal divinity of the northern people (Tungusians, Ostiaks, etc.). But *bo*, or *boo*, is more probably an Indo-European word (Sans. *bhi*, to fear). Boggle-de-boo may be translated "the spirit of fear."

as a man, famous as a boggle—than Jemmy Lowther, well known, for want of a more appropriate name, as the “bad Lord Lonsdale.” This notorious character, who seemed the transmigration of the worst and coarsest feudal baron ever imported into England by the Conqueror, became a still greater terror to the country after death, than he had even been during his life. He was with difficulty buried; and whilst the clergyman was praying over him, he very nearly knocked the reverend gentleman from his desk. When placed in the grave, the power of creating alarm was not interred with his bones. There were disturbances in the Hall, noises in the stables; neither men nor animals were suffered to rest. Jemmy’s “coach and six” is still remembered and spoken of, from which we are probably to understand that he produced a noise, as boggles frequently do, like an equipage of this description. There is nothing said of his shape, or whether he ever appeared at all; but it is certain he made himself audible. The Hall became almost uninhabitable, and out of doors there was constant danger of meeting the miscreant ghost. In desperate cases of this kind, it appears, there is no assistance to be had, except from a Catholic priest, one reason being that the exorcism must be made in Latin. Jemmy, however—obstinate old boggle!—stood a long siege; and when at length he offered terms of capitulation, was only willing to go to the Red Sea for a year and a day. But it was decided that these terms should not be accepted; the priest read on until he fully overpowered the tyrant, and *laid* him under a large rock called Wallow Crag, and laid him for ever.

In modern times, when the personality of the boggles is known, it appears that most of them are, like Jemmy Lowther, individuals who enjoyed an unenviable notoriety while living, and for whom there is no sympathy after death. About the latter end of the last century, a man well known in the neighbourhood of Appleby as Old Shepherd, whose life had not been spent in virtuous deeds, became so troublesome as a boggle, that he had to be forcibly expelled the house, and laid. A Catholic priest was the exorcist, and the “material guarantee,” under which he was laid, a large stone not far from the door. My informant, who lived in that part

of the country about forty years ago, on the occasion of an election triumph, assisted at a bone-fire within a short distance of Old Shepherd's house. Whilst they were enjoying themselves round the fire, and "cracking" of Old Shepherd, lo ! the old fellow made his appearance from under the stone in the shape of a large white something; but he turned off sideways, and *sailed* down the "beck," in which they could hear him splashing like a horse. Encouraged by the shyness of the boggle, they burned out their fire, and removed further down the "beck side," where some wood was known to be lying. Here they made another fire, when Old Shepherd again hove in sight. The second time my informant did not see him, but some one gave the alarm, and all dispersed for the night.

Some incredulous individuals there are who may consider unsatisfactory the evidence on the boggle cases narrated; all such are requested to read the story of the Henhow boggle, the truth of which they may ascertain by a little inquiry. It happened about twenty-three years ago. The man to whom the boggle appeared was living in Martindale, at a cottage called Henhow. His wife had heard some unaccountable noise in or around the house, and informed her husband, but no farther notice was taken. One morning he had to go to his work at an early hour, and having several miles to walk, he started soon after midnight. He had not got above two hundred yards from the house, when the dog by which he was accompanied, gave signs of alarm. He looked round—at the other side of the wall that bounded the road, appeared a woman, keeping pace with him, and carrying a child in her arms. There was no means of escape; he spoke to the figure, and asked her what "was troubling her?" Then she told him her story. She had once lived at Henhow, and had been seduced. Her seducer, to cloak his guilt and her frailty, met her by appointment at a certain market-town, and gave her a medicine, the purpose of which is obvious. It proved too potent, and killed both mother and child. Her doom was to wander thus for a hundred years, forty of which were already expired. On his return home at night, the man told what he had seen and heard; and when the

extraordinary story spread through the dale, the "old wives" were enabled to recall some almost forgotten incidents precisely identical with those related by the boggle. The seducer was known to be a clergyman. The occurrence is believed to have made a lasting impression on the old man, who still lives, and was until very lately a shepherd on the fells. There can be no moral doubt that he both saw, and spoke with, the boggle; but what share his imagination had therein, or how it had been excited, are mysteries, and so they are likely to remain.

The swath, or swarf, called in Northumberland, the wraith, or wauf, and in some places the fetch, still gains currency in the north. "There is a person now living in the county," says Mr. Simpson, "who fully believes the swarf, or likeness of his nephew appeared to him the night he was lost at sea. He was aroused from sleep by a noise, as of some one clinging to the window of the bedroom. He looked round and distinctly saw the face and form of his nephew, then on his journey to India. After gazing into the room a short while, the apparition seemed to fall to the ground with a dull, heavy sound. The uncle rose from bed, and looked out of the window, but nothing could be seen. It is thought that if the swarf is seen late in the day, and on the road towards church, the person to whom it is like will soon die; if it is seen in the early part of the morning, and going in any other direction, it betokens health and long life."

Though it would be unsafe to declare the entire extinction of boggles, it is certain they have very sensibly declined. The boggles of the present day are scarcely more than the ghosts of boggles, and the persons now most tenacious of such stories, are old country tailors. Not one of these who cannot tell tales of boggles innumerable. On winter nights after dark, the interest of these stories becomes painfully intense, as the tailor has probably to pass, in his way home, some spot—a pond or quarry—where he himself or somebody else has seen once, when all alone, late at night, neither moon nor stars visible, no human creature within hearing on whom to call for aid,—*something white, that never stirred.*

Perhaps the abortive attempt made to get up the Orton boggle a few years ago in Westmorland, is as striking a proof as need be

given of the decline of this belief. One characteristic incident occurred amongst the stories that then became current in the country. It was said that a "Methodee man" (Methodist preacher) was brought to exorcise the boggle, thus assuming for "Methodee men" the power supposed at one time to belong exclusively to Catholic priests. But the exorcist on receiving a blow with his own hat on the back of his head, very properly declined any further interference. On the whole, as far as local history is concerned, there is every appearance that the last page of the chapter of boggles is turned for ever.

CHAPTER IX.

ANNIVERSARIES.

FOUR periodical festivals anciently existed amongst the Celts, in celebration of the seasons, and irrespective of the rejoicings at the New Year and Midsummer. Of these the first two only, now known as Candlemas, and May-day, have left any traces in Cumbria; the others, Lammas, and All Hallows, have long since become extinct.

Candlemas was once celebrated with fireworship, as mentioned before, judging from the names of Blaze Fell in Cumberland and Westmorland. Candlemas cake, a relic of this festival, is still remembered.

Carnival customs outlive the subsequent fasts for which they form the preparation, the substantial support of dinner being wanting in the latter case. The Monday preceding Lent is celebrated with the dinner adjunct of bacon "collops" and eggs, Tuesday with pancakes, Ash Wednesday with a *hash*. An imagination that may be termed butcherly, fills up the void to the end of the week, thus: Collop Monday, Pancake Tuesday, Hash Wednesday, Bloody Thursday, Hang up on Friday, and Cut down on Saturday. The singular phenomenon of *Hash* Wednesday, a custom very generally observed, is perhaps not to be paralleled.

Carling Sunday, the second Sunday before Easter, has a peculiar celebration in these counties. In some districts, according to custom, grey peas are steeped in water, fried in fat, and presented to all visitors, the peas being called carlings; whilst in Cumbria, wherever it is yet observed, the raw carlings are carried in the pocket, and thrown at friends and acquaintances. The curious

Carnival custom of Italy—the pelting with sugar plums and confetti—seems to be identical with our earlings, but changed as to time and manner. There is no appearance of a Christian origin.

Good Friday is kept by the smiths as a sort of holiday. No smith will heat an iron on that day under any pretence, on account, it is said, of the nails used in the crucifixion of Christ. The master limits himself to an examination of his old irons, the assistants to whitewashing the shop, and renovating the bellows. It was an old custom on this day to have an ale posset with the addition of figs, hence called figsue, which furnishes another connecting link with the Italian Carnival.

Easter is announced a fortnight before it arrives by the “pace-egging” of the children, which they carry on at the farmhouses of the surrounding country. The “pace-egger” hardly ever meets a refusal, many persons having prepared eggs, boiled and coloured, which they give away during the last week to all comers. When the pace-egggers go in bands, as is generally the case, they sing at the door or in the kitchen, and formerly each of the party was dressed, or supposed to be dressed, in character. The song commences thus :

Here's two or three jolly boys all in one mind,
We've comt a pace-egging, I hope you'll prove kind,
I hope you'll prove kind with your eggs and strong beer,
And we'll come no more nigh you until the next year.

We are then informed that “the first that comes in is Lord Nelson you'll see;” and the remainder of the company may be enumerated as Jolly Jack Tar, Old Tossplot, and a female character styled Old Miser “with her bags.”* The “ladies and gentlemen that sits by

* The singing in character of the pace-egggers comes down from the Miracles and Mysteries of the Middle Ages. In the latter Belzebub was the principle comic actor, assisted by a troop of under-devils. These characters are traceable in the Lancashire custom of singing at Christmas. The chief actor, who has his face *blackened*, carries a broom, and sings “Here come I little David Doubt,” was the little *Devil Doubt* of older times, in conjunction with whom used to appear Oliver Cromwell, a very natural addition after the Restoration. The transition from this point to the popular character of Lord Nelson, is obvious enough.

the fire," are then requested to put their hands in their pockets and remember pace-egging time. The eggs thus obtained are supposed to be "trundled," or rolled against each until one or both break, on Easter Monday.

Much of the Easter rejoicing seems to have come from the May festival. The sports of Easter Monday answer well enough to the season, but the providing of new clothes for the children belongs more naturally to May. The change proves to be a crying misfortune, as the gauze of Summer clothing now replaces the warm covering of Winter frequently in the face of sleet, snow, and north winds. The "pace-egg," probably the magnet of the whole transfer, appears to have come from the East in Christian times.*

The first of April is still in a flourishing condition, and the fools made thereon are in these counties called *gowks* (D. *giög*, the cuckoo). We have likewise the notion that the three first days of the month are sometimes borrowed by March for sinister purposes.

May-eve was formerly celebrated in this district with the Beltain, at which green branches were borne, a Scandinavian rite, apparently, superadded to the Celtic fire worship. The latter custom identifies itself with the Jack in the Green of the London sweeps, the intention having been to celebrate at this season, when Nature is awaking from the chaotic sleep of Winter, the myth of the creation.† The singular sign called the Green Man, who is now

* The Tcherkesses (Circassians), who have adopted many customs from their neighbours north and south, celebrate an Easter-feast at which the young people shoot at an egg. Cf. the story of Tell shooting at the apple.

† The rulers of the earth, says the mythology of Scandinavia, found two pieces of wood on the shore, and out of them formed the first man and woman. They named them Ask and Embla, Ash and Alder.

We have a similar instance of the long preservation of old traditions and myths in the nursery rhyme commencing—

London Bridge is broken down,
Dance o'er my lady lee.

See Nursery Rhymes, by J. O. Halliwell.

Here is its origin: At the death of Svend Tveskiæg, Ethelred returned to England, to endeavour to regain possession of his kingdom. He was joined by Olaf of Norway. The allied forces made an attack on London from the Thames, but the Danes defended themselves with success from both sides of the river and

represented as wearing bright green, Robin Hood-like clothes, originated in the May festival. And the name of Maybrough, which, unlike that of its neighbour, the Round Table, is not modern, identifies that structure with the ceremonies of the same time.

On the first of May is still observed in Ireland the custom of going into the fields, and drinking whiskey mixed with milk taken direct from the cow. The mixture is called syllabub, and the kind of Maying to which it belongs, though once more general in England, is in later times only heard of in Northumberland and Cornwall.

The only surviving Maying custom of these counties now is the "shaking bottle" carried by children, and so called from the rule laid down by the Newcastle apothecary—"when taken, to be well shaken." The liquor it contains is a solution of Spanish licorice in water, which is supped, or "sucked" from the bottle; and the custom, though kept up for weeks, evidently belongs to May, as said in the children's rhyme:

The first of May
Is shaking-bottle day.

"Spanish and water," it is said, is good for coughs—a utilitarian explanation of too late a date, which will not account for the syllabub. Both syllabub and Spanish and water appear to be appropriate substitutes for the mead in which the Norsemen drank the *minni* (memory) of the Gods at their festivities.

Many other customs took refuge with the great May festival, but this did not save them. Amongst the rest, the holy wells, in the last period of their existence, are invariably heard of in May. May geslings, the making of which is identical with that of April fools, are still to be heard of, on the first of May.

from the bridge. Hereupon, after holding a council of war, the fleets moved up under the bridge, laid their cables round the piles, and rowed back with all force. The piles were thus shaken, so that from the weight of men, stones and other weapons, the bridge gave way, and fell into the river. So says Ottar Swarte:

London Bridge is broken down,—
Gold is won and bright renown; etc.

See the Chronicle of the Kings of Norway, by Snorro Sturleson.

The annual ceremony of Rushbearing survives in the villages of Warcop and Ambleside. The custom, it appears, was revived in the last century at Great Musgrave, but did not long continue. St. Peter's day (June 29th), on which the rushbearing takes place at Warcop, is kept as an entire holiday. The garlands are borne in procession by the children to church, where service is said; and at two o'clock commence certain "sports," consisting of a hound trail, a boy's foot-race, a men's foot-race, pole-leaping, long-leaping, and trotting, which fill up the afternoon. According to the description given of the custom as it was observed at Ambleside, 1856, the garlands to the number of one hundred and ten, made of rushes, ferns, mosses and flowers, were deposited in the church on Saturday, where they remained during divine service next day. On Monday, at four o'clock, the garlands were removed, and carried in procession by the children, for whom refreshments were kindly provided. The origin of the ceremony belongs to the time when rushes were the covering of the floors of houses and churches, and when other carpets were not, the intention being to bless the rushes on the day of the patron saint.

Martindale Cherry Sunday, and Longwathby Plum Sunday are still observed by the assembling of persons from the country around at the places named, on the Sundays when cherries and plums are ripe. There is nothing very mystic in the observances; they consist in eating a considerable quantity of the fruit from which the Sunday receives its name, and in more or less patronage of the public-houses.

The Kurn, or Kurn-winning (see page 87), the Harvest Home of the north, takes the place of the more ancient and solemn returning of thanks at the ingathering of the crops.

All Hallow E'en has no custom pertaining to it. There is recorded in Hutchinson, as a Whitbeck superstition, that on this night the bull lies with his face to the quarter from which the prevailing wind of winter will blow.

The approach of Christmas is not so surely heralded by nipping frosts and showers of snow, as by the song of the children, who go from house to house whistling their shrill notes through pitiless

keyholes. These harbingers of the great festival, who form bands varying from two to a dozen, carry on their operations for about three weeks before Christmas, commencing every evening at dusk. Many houses never refuse the expected donation to the sound of the carol; yet it not unfrequently happens that, after long, *sostenuto* serenading, the door suddenly opens, and the frightened choir disperse in dismay at the ogre-like look of some old woman, who rushes out as if to devour them.

CHRISTMAS CAROL.

As I sat anonder yon green tree,
Yon green tree, yon green trec,
As I sat anonder yon green tree,
A Chrisamas Day in the morning,
I met three ships come sailing by,
Come sailing by, etc.
Who do you think was in one of them?
In one of them, etc.
The Virgin Mary and her son,
And her son, etc.
She washed his face in a silver bowl,
A silver bowl, etc.
She combed his hair with an ivory comb,
An ivory comb, etc.
She sent him up to Heaven to school,
To Heaven to school, etc.
All the angels began to sing,
Began to sing, etc.
The bells of Heaven began to ring,
Began to ring, etc.

This song is still sung at Penrith, having replaced one called "Joseph and Mary," in the early part of the century. Yet its antiquity is undoubted, and it has probably come hither from Lancashire, where it is well known.* The waits also take part in

*Leap-frog has found its way from Lancashire. In Penrith it is known as Lanky Loups (Lancashire Leaps).

ushering in Christmas, but are as far from being disinterested as the carolers. They play the tune to which the children sing, namely, an expected gift at the close of the holidays, and on Christmas morning call over the names of the family at whose door they have been attending.

At this period (Christmas), says the author of "The Manners and Customs of Westmorland in the eighteenth century," festivity became general, and every table was decorated in succession with a profusion of dishes, including all the pies and puddings then in use. Ale-possets also constituted a favourite part of these festive suppers, and were given to strangers for breakfast, before the introduction of tea. They were served up in bowls called doublers, into which the company dipped their spoons promiscuously. The posset-cup* shone as an article of finery in the better sort of houses; it was of pewter, furnished with two, three or more lateral pipes, through which the liquid part of the compound might be sucked. The aged sat down to cards and conversation for the better part of the night, while the young men amused the company with exhibitions of maskers, or parties of rapier-dancers displayed their dexterity in the sportive use of the small-sword.

The performance of the rapier-dancers is the same with the well-known sword-dance, which is still remembered in some parts of Cumberland. The ale-posset continues to appear at the village tavern on what is called the Powsowdy night, and consists of ale boiled with bread, and seasoned with sugar and nutmeg. It is served up in basons, and is followed by music, dancing and card-playing.

It is mentioned among Whitbeck superstitions, that the labouring ox kneels at midnight on Christmas Eve, and that the bees sing at the same hour. Notwithstanding, the night is spent by the lower orders in playing cards for "snaps," and the morning is welcomed with the "bottle," which no family is without. But the mistletoe, the Yule† clog, the Christmas candles, the holly branch, the ivy-

* The wassail-bowl of the south. See note to page 41.

† The Yule was the Midwinter feast, and was not limited to one day. The Cyprian *ioulos* denoted the month from Dec. 22 to Jan. 23 (Hermann, über griechische Monatskunde, Gött., 1844).

deckings—where are they? Fast following all other customs, they are being distilled in the alembic of Time, and will soon become alcohol, or nothing.

St. Stephen's Day is kept as a general shooting holiday; the woods and fields echo all day with the desultory practice of "sportsmen," and the pigeon-shootings held for prizes. The wren-hunting of the Isle of Man and Ireland no doubt had the same origin as our Christmas shooting.*

New Year's Day was celebrated very pompously in ancient times; but, as in most Christian countries, the customs pertaining thereto have long since gone over to Christmas. At Muncaster, on the eve of this day, it was formerly customary for the children to sing from house to house, and crave the bounty they "were wont to have in old King Edward's days," the expected gift being a pie or twopence. Shorn of its rites, the New Year is now simply welcomed with midnight bell-ringing, and by the "Ranters" with singing and music out of doors. Borrowing is not "lucky" on that day, and no person should allow a light to be taken from his fire on any pretence. The first visitor of the year is believed to influence the luck of the ensuing twelve months. But fate is most generally forestalled on this occasion, and some lucky person, usually a child, is engaged to be the "first foot" of the year. The origin of this superstition is obvious. It has long since been discovered how much we are under the influence of those around us, and the "first foot" is but the expression of this truth. Many people believe the first twelve days of January to be typical of the weather for the ensuing year.

Twelfth Night was formerly celebrated at Brough-under-Stain-

* The wren-hunting of the Isle of Man is explained by a tradition, that in former times a fairy of uncommon beauty one by one seduced away the male population, and led them into the sea. At length a knight-errant sprung up, who laid a plot for the destruction of the fairy, which she only escaped by taking the form of a *wren*, with this condition, that she should, on the anniversary of that day, re-animate the same form year after year, and ultimately perish by a human hand. Formerly on Dec. 24, but now on St. Stephen's Day, the whole population of the island turn out in the hope of killing the fairy.—(History of the Isle of Man, by H. A. Bullock.)

more by carrying through the town a holly tree with torches attached to its branches. The procession set out at eight o'clock, with the band playing, and stopped and cheered at the bridge and again at the cross. The crowd then separated into two factions, one of which endeavoured to take the tree to one of the inns, another to the other. An obstinate scuffle ensued, and the innkeeper patronised by the successful party was expected to treat his men well. This custom has, doubtless, the same origin as the Christmas tree of Germany and the northern countries.*

Thus the anniversary customs, or such of them as remain, fill up the gyration of the year, and bring us back to the point from which we set out. They form an almanac of social existence. Mysteriously connected with the life of man, they frequently defy his utmost efforts at suppression—one by one *he* sees them disappear—generation after generation *they* watch into the ground whence man has sprung. And thus they hover about him, and warn him along the path from which there is no escape. The Last Foot of the Old Year, bearing away the disappointments of the past, is still echoing on the pavement, when the First Foot of the New Year thrusts in his door, bringing him good luck or bad luck, as, in due time, he never fails to discover.

* Holly Night at Brough is fully described in Hone's Table Book.

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GEORGE LEE, PRINTER, KENDAL.









